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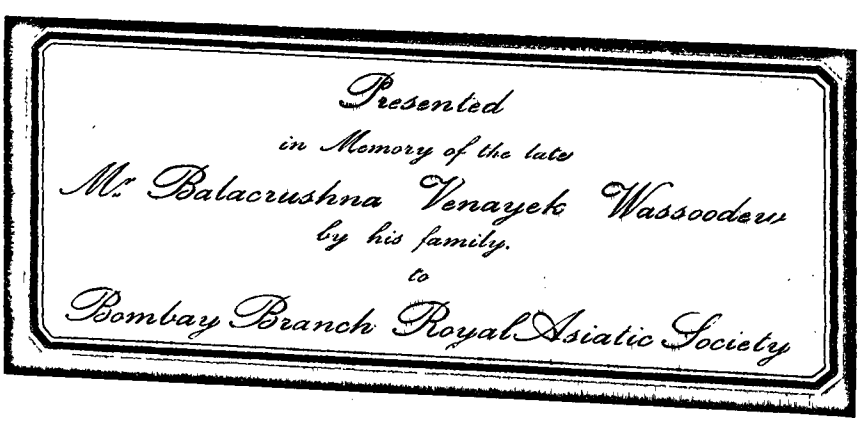

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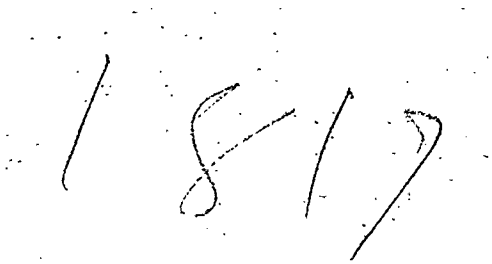

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THE

ANCIENT HISTORY

OF THE

EGYPTIANS,
CARTHAGINIANS,
ASSYRIANS,
BABYLONIANS,
MEDES AND PERSIANS,
MACEDONIANS,
AND
GRECIANS.

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OF INSCRIPTIONS AND BELLES-LETTRES.

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BOOK THE FIFTEENTH.

THE HISTORY OF ALEXANDER.

SECT. I. *Alexander's birth. The temple of Ephesus is burnt the same day. The happy natural inclinations of that prince. Aristotle is appointed his preceptor, who inspires him with a surprising taste for learning. He breaks Bucephalus.*

ALEXANDER was born in the first year of the CVIth Olympiad. A. M. 3648. Ant. J. C. 356.

The very day he came into the world, the celebrated temple of Diana at Ephesus was burnt. It is well known that this temple was one of the seven wonders of the world. It had been built in the name and at the expence of all Asia Minor. A great number of* years were employed in building it. Its length was four hundred and twenty-five feet, and its breadth two hundred and twenty. It was supported by a hundred and twenty-seven columns, threescore feet high, which as many † kings had

* Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 14.

* Pliny says two hundred and twenty years, which is not probable.

† Anciently almost every city was governed by its particular king.

caused to be wrought at a great expence, and by the most excellent artists, who endeavoured to excel one another on this occasion. The rest of the temple corresponded in magnificence with these columns.

[b] Hegesias * of Magnesia, according to Plutarch, says, "That it was no wonder the temple was "burned, because Diana was that day employed at "the delivery of Olympias, to facilitate the birth of "Alexander:" a reflection, says our author, so very † cold, that it might have extinguished the fire. ‡ Cicero, who ascribes this saying to Timæus, declares it a very smart one, at which I am very much surprised. Possibly the fondness he had for jokes, made him not very delicate in things of this kind.

[c] One Herostratus had set fire to the temple on purpose. Being put to the torture, in order to force him to confess his motive for committing so infamous an action, he owned that it was with the view of making himself known to posterity, and to immortalize his name, by destroying so noble a structure. The states general of Asia imagined they should prevent the success of his view, by publishing a decree, prohibiting the mention of his name. However, their prohibition only excited a greater curiosity; for scarce one of the historians of that age has omitted to mention so monstrous an extravagance, and at the same time to tell us the name of the criminal.

[d] The ruling passion in Alexander, even from his tender years, was ambition, and an ardent desire of

[b] Plut. in Alex. p. 665. [c] Valer. Max. l. viii. c. 14.
[d] Plut. in vit. Alex. p. 665—668. Id. de Fortun. Alex. p. 342.

* He was an historian, and lived in the time of Ptolemy son of Lagus.

† I do not know whether Plutarch's reflection be not still colder.

‡ *Concinnè, ut multa, Timæus; qui, cùm in historiâ dixisset, quâ nocte natus Alexander esset, eâdem Dianæ Ephesiæ templum deflagravisse, adjunxit: minimè id esse mirandum, quòd Diana, cum in partu Olympiadis adesse voluisset, abfuisset domo.* De nat. deor. l. ii. n. 69.

glory; but not for every species of glory. Philip, like a sophist, valued himself upon his eloquence and the beauty of his style; and had the vanity to cause to be engraved on his coins the several victories he had won at the Olympic games in the chariot-race. But it was not to this his son aspired. His friends asking him one day, whether he would not be present at the games above-mentioned, in order to dispute the prize, for he was very swift of foot; he answered, "That he would contend "in them, provided kings were to be his antago-"nists."

Every time news was brought him, that his father had taken some city, or gained some great battle, Alexander, far from sharing in the general joy, used to say, in a plaintive tone of voice, to the young persons that were brought up with him, "Friends, "my father will possess himself of every thing, and "leave nothing for us to do."

One day some ambassadors from the king of Persia being arrived at court during Philip's absence, Alexander gave them so courteous and so polite a reception, and regaled them in so noble and generous a manner, as charmed them all. But that which most surprised them was, the good sense and judgment which he discovered in the several conversations they had with him. He did not propose to them any thing that was trifling; as might be expected from one of his age; such, for instance, as enquiring about the so much boasted gardens suspended in the air, the riches and magnificence of the palace and court of the king of Persia, which excited the admiration of the whole world; the famous golden plane-tree; [e] and that golden vine, the grapes of which were of emeralds, carbuncles, rubies, and all sorts of precious stones, under which the Persian monarch was said frequently to give audience to ambassadors: Alexander asked them questions of a quite different

[e] Athen. l. xii. p. 539.

nature, enquiring which was the road to Upper Asia; the distance of the several places; in what the strength and power of the king of Persia consisted; in what part of the battle he fought; how he behaved towards his enemies; and in what manner he governed his subjects. These ambassadors admired him all the while: and perceiving even at that time what he might one day become, they pointed out, in a few words, the difference they found between Alexander and [f] Artaxerxes, by saying one to another, * "This young prince is great, "and ours is rich." That man must be very insignificant, who has no other merit than his riches!

So ripe a judgment in this young prince, was owing as much to the good education which had been given him, as to the excellence of his natural abilities. Several preceptors were appointed to teach him whatsoever was worthy the heir to a great kingdom; and the chief of these was Leonidas, a relation of the queen, and a person of the most severe morals. Alexander himself related afterwards, that this Leonidas, in their journeys together, used frequently to look into the trunks where his beds and clothes were laid, in order to see if Olympias his mother had not put something superfluous into them, which might administer to delicacy and luxury. But the greatest service Philip did his son, was appointing Aristotle his preceptor, the most famous and the most learned philosopher of his age, whom he intrusted with the whole care of his education. [g] One of the reasons which prompted Philip to choose him a master of so conspicuous a reputation and merit was, as he himself said, that his son might avoid committing a great many faults, of which he himself had been guilty.

Philip was sensible, how great a treasure he pos-

[f] Artaxerxes Ochus.

[g] Plut. in Apophtheg. p. 178.

* Ὁ παῖς ἔτος, βασιλεὺς μέγας· ὁ δὲ ἡμέτερος, πλούσιος.

sessed in the person of Aristotle; for which reason he settled a very considerable stipend upon him, and afterwards rewarded his pains and care in an infinitely more glorious manner; for having destroyed and laid waste the city of * Stagira, the native place of that philosopher, he rebuilt it, purely out of affection for him; reinstated the inhabitants who had fled from it, or were made slaves; and gave them a fine park in the neighbourhood of Stagira, as a place for their studies and assemblies. Even in Plutarch's time, the stone seats which Aristotle had placed there were standing; as also spacious avenues of trees, under which those who walked were shaded from the sun-beams.

Alexander likewise discovered no less esteem for his master, whom he believed himself bound to love as much as if he had been his father; declaring, † "That he was indebted to the one for living, and "to the other for living well." The progress of the pupil was equal to the care and abilities of the preceptor. ‡ He grew passionately fond of philosophy; and learned the several branches of it, but with the discrimination suitable to his birth. Aristotle endeavoured to improve his judgment by laying down sure and certain rules, by which he might distinguish just and solid reasoning from what is merely specious; and by accustoming him to separate in discourse all such parts as only dazzle, from those which are truly solid, and should constitute its whole value. He also exercised him in metaphysics, which may be of great benefit to a prince, provided he applies himself to them with moderation, as they explain to him the nature of the human mind; how greatly it differs from matter; in what manner he perceives spiritual things; how he is sensible of the impression of those that surround him, and many other questions of the like import. The reader will

* A city of Macedon, near the sea-shore.

† Ὡς δι' ἐκεῖνον μὲν ζῶν, διὰ τοῦτον δὲ καλῶς ζῳ

‡ *Retinuit ex sapientiâ modum.* TACIT.

naturally suppose, that he did not omit either the mathematics, which are so well calculated to give the mind a just turn of thinking; or the wonders of nature, the study of which, besides a great many other advantages, shows how very incapable the mind of man is to discover the secret principles of the things to which he is daily an eye witness. But Alexander applied himself chiefly to morality, which is properly the science of kings, because it is the knowledge of mankind, and of all their duties. This he made his serious and profound study; and considered it, even at that time, as the foundation of prudence and wise policy. How much must such an education contribute to enable a prince to conduct himself well with regard to his own interests and the government of his people!

[h] The greatest master of rhetoric that antiquity could ever boast, and who has left so excellent a treatise on that subject, took care to make that science part of his pupil's education: and we find that Alexander, even in the midst of his conquests, was often very urgent with Aristotle to send him a treatise on that subject. To this we owe the work intitled *Alexander's Rhetoric;* in the beginning of which, Aristotle proves to him the vast advantages a prince may reap from eloquence, as it gives him the greatest ascendant over the minds of men, which he ought to acquire as well by his wisdom as authority. Some answers and letters of Alexander, which are still extant, show that he possessed, in its greatest perfection, that strong, that manly eloquence, which abounds with sense and ideas; and which is so entirely free from superfluous expressions, that every single word has its meaning; which, properly speaking, is the eloquence of kings.*

His esteem, or rather his passion, for Homer, shows, not only with what vigour and success he applied himself to polite literature, but the judi-

[h] Aristot. in Rhetor. ad Alex. p. 608, 609.

* *Imperatoriâ brevitate.* TACIT.

cious use he made of it, and the solid advantages he proposed to himself from it. He was not prompted to peruse this poet merely out of curiosity, or to unbend his mind, or from a great fondness for poesy; but his view in studying this admirable writer was, in order to borrow such sentiments from him as are worthy a great king and conqueror; courage, intrepidity, magnanimity, temperance, prudence; the art of commanding well in war and governing well in peace. And, indeed, the verse which pleased him most in Homer,* was that where *Agamemnon* is represented as *a good king and a brave warrior.*

After this it is no wonder that Alexander should have so high an esteem for this poet. Thus, when after the battle of Arbela, the Macedonians had found among the spoils of Darius a gold casket (enriched with precious stones), in which the exquisite perfumes used by that prince were put; Alexander, who was quite covered with dust, and regardless of essences and perfumes, destined this rich casket to hold Homer's poems, which he considered the most perfect and the most precious † production of the human mind. He admired particularly the Iliad, which he called, ‡ "The best provision for a war-"rior." He always had with him that edition of Homer which Aristotle had revised and corrected, and to which the title of the *Edition of the Casket* was given; and he laid it, with his sword, every night, under his pillow.

[1] Fond, even to excess, of every kind of glory, he was displeased with Aristotle, his master, for having published, in his absence, certain metaphysical

[1] Aul. Gel. l. xx. c. 5.

* Ἀμφότερον, βασιλεὺς τ' ἀγαθὸς, κρατερός τ' ἀιχμητής. Iliad. 3. v. 179.

† *Pretiosissimum humani animi opus.* PLIN. l. vii. c. 29.

‡ Τῆς πολεμικῆς ἀρετῆς ἐφόδιον. The word, which I have not been able to render better, signifies, that in the Iliad are found whatever relates to the art of war, and the qualities of a general; in a word, all things necessary to form a good commander.

pieces, which he himself desired to possess alone; and even at the time when he was employed in the conquest of Asia, and the pursuit of Darius, he wrote to him a letter which is still extant, wherein he complains upon that very account. Alexander says in it, that "he* had much rather surpass the "rest of men in the knowledge of sublime and ex- "cellent things, than in the greatness and extent of "his power." He in like manner requested [k] Aristotle, not to show the treatise of rhetoric abovementioned to any person but himself. I will confess, that there is an excess in this strong desire of glory, which prompts him to suppress the merit of others, in order that his alone may appear; but then we at least must confess, that it discovers such a passion for study as is very laudable in a prince; and the very reverse of that indifference, not to say contempt and aversion, which most young persons of high birth express for all things that relate to learning and study.

Plutarch points out to us in a few words, the infinite advantage that Alexander reaped from this taste, with which his master (than whom no man possessed greater talents for the education of youth) had inspired him from his most tender infancy. "He "loved (says that author) to converse with learned "men, to improve himself in knowledge, and to "study†;" three sources of a monarch's happiness, which enable him to secure himself from numberless difficulties; three certain and infallible methods of learning to reign without the assistance of others. The conversation of persons of fine sense instructs a prince while it amuses him, and teaches him a thousand curious and useful things without costing him the least trouble. The lessons which able masters give him, on the most exalted sciences,

[k] Arist. p. 609.

* Ἐγὼ δὲ βελοίμην ἂν ταῖς περὶ τὰ ἄριστα ἐμπειρίαις, ἢ ταῖς δυνάμεσιν διαφέρειν.

† Ἦν φιλόλογος, καὶ φιλομαθὴς, καὶ φιλαναγνώστης.

and particularly upon politics, improve his mind wonderfully, and furnish him with rules to govern his subjects with wisdom. And lastly, study, especially that of history, crowns all the rest, and is to him a preceptor for all seasons and for all hours, who, without ever growing troublesome, acquaints him with truths which no one else would dare to tell him, and, under fictitious names, exhibits the prince to himself; teaches him to know himself as well as mankind, who are the same in all ages. Alexander owed all these advantages to the excellent education which Aristotle gave him.

[l] He had also a taste for the whole circle of arts, but such as becomes a prince; that is, he knew the value and usefulness of them. Music, painting, sculpture, architecture, flourished in his reign, because they found* in him both a skilful judge and a generous protector, who was able to distinguish and reward merit, wherever displayed

[m] But he despised certain trifling feats of dexterity, that were of no use. Much admiration was lavished on a man, who employed himself very earnestly in throwing small pease through the eye of a † needle, which he would do at a considerable distance, and without once missing. Alexander seeing him thus engaged, ordered him, as we are told, a present suitable to his employment, viz. a basket of pease.

Alexander was of a lively disposition; resolute, and very tenacious of his opinion, which never gave way to compulsion, but at the same time would submit immediately to reason and good sense. It requires great judgment and delicacy to manage such a disposition. Philip accordingly, notwithstanding

[l] Plut. de Fortun. Alex. Serm. ii. p. 333.

[m] Quintil. lib. ii. cap. 21.

* Μάρτυρα ἔλαβον καὶ θεατὴν, τὸν ἄριστα κρῖναι τὸ κατορθούμενον, καὶ μάλιστα ἀμείψασθαι δυνάμενον.

† We may suppose it was some instrument in the shape of a needle.

his double authority of king and father, believed it necessary to employ persuasion rather than constraint with respect to his son, and endeavoured to make himself beloved rather than feared by him.

An accidental occurrence made him entertain a very advantageous opinion of Alexander. There had been sent from Thessaly to Philip a war-horse, a noble, fiery, generous beast, called * Bucephalus. The owner offered to sell him for thirteen talents, about 1900*l.* sterling. The king went into the plains, attended by his courtiers, in order to make trial of this horse; but he appeared so very fierce, and reared so when any one came near him, that no one dared to mount him. Philip, being angry that so furious and unmanageable a creature had been sent him, ordered him back again. Alexander, who was present, cried out, "What a noble horse they are going to lose, for want of address and boldness to back him!" Philip, at first, considered these words as the effect of folly and rashness, so common to young men: but as Alexander insisted still more upon what he had said, and was very much vexed to see so noble a creature just going to be sent home again, his father gave him leave to try what he could do. The young prince, overjoyed at this permission, goes up to Bucephalus, takes hold of his bridle, and turns his head to the sun; having observed that what frighted him was his own shadow, he seeing it dance about, or sink down, in proportion as he moved. He, therefore, first stroked him gently with his hand, and soothed him with his voice; then seeing his fierceness abate, and artfully taking his opportunity, he let fall his cloak, and springing swiftly upon his back, first slackens the rein, without once striking or vexing him: and when he perceived that his fire was cool-

* Some think he was called so, because his head was like that of an ox.

ed, that he was no longer so furious and violent, and wanted only to move forward, he gave him the rein, and spurring him with great vigour, animated him with his voice to his full speed. While this was doing, Philip and his whole court trembled for fear, and did not once open their lips; but when the prince, after having run his first heat, returned with joy and pride, at his having broke a horse which was judged absolutely ungovernable, all the courtiers in general endeavoured to outvie one another in their applauses and congratulations; and, we are told, Philip shed tears of joy on this occasion, and embracing Alexander after he was alighted, and kissing his head, said to him, "My son, "seek a kingdom more worthy of thee, for Mace-"don is below thy merit."

We are told a great many surprising particulars of this Bucephalus; for whatever had any relation to Alexander, was to be of the marvellous kind. [n] When this creature was saddled and equipped for battle, he would suffer no one to back him but his master; and it would not have been safe for any other person to go near him. Whenever Alexander wanted to mount him, he would kneel down upon his fore-feet. According to some historians, in the battle against Porus, where Alexander had plunged too imprudently amidst a body of the enemy, his horse, though covered with wounds, did however exert himself in so vigorous a manner, that he saved his master's life; and notwithstanding the deep wounds he had received, and though almost spent through the great effusion of blood, he brought off Alexander from among the combatants, and carried him with inexpressible vigour to a place of security; where perceiving* the king was no longer in danger, and overjoyed in some

[n] Aul. Gel. l. v. c. 2.

* *Et dominî jam superstitis securus, quasi cum sensûs humani solatio, animam expiravit.* Aul. Gell.

measure to die after the service he had done him, he expired. This indeed is a very noble end for a horse. Others say, that Bucephalus, quite worn out, died at thirty years of age. Alexander bewailed his death bitterly, believing that he had lost in him a most faithful and affectionate friend; and afterwards built a city on the very spot where he was buried, near the river Hydaspes, and called it *Bucephalia*, in honour of him.

I have related elsewhere that Alexander, at sixteen years of age, was appointed regent of Macedonia, and invested with absolute authority during his father's absence; that he behaved with great prudence and bravery; and that afterwards he distinguished himself in a most signal manner at the battle of Chæronea.

SECT. II. *Alexander, after the death of Philip, ascends the throne at twenty years of age. He subjects and reduces the nations contiguous to Macedon, who had revolted. He goes into Greece to dissolve the alliance formed against him. He captures and destroys Thebes, and pardons the Athenians. He procures himself to be nominated, in the diet or assembly at Corinth, generalissimo of the Greeks against Persia. He returns to Macedon, and makes preparations for carrying his arms into Asia.*

A. M. 3668. Ant. J. C. 336. [o] DARIUS and Alexander began to reign the same year: the latter was but twenty when he succeeded to the crown. His first care was to solemnize the funeral obsequies of his father with the utmost pomp, and to revenge his death.

Upon his accession to the throne, he saw himself surrounded on every side with extreme dangers. The barbarous nations against whom Philip had

[o] Plut. in Alex. p. 670, 672. Diod. l. xvii. p. 486—489. Arrian. l. i. de Expedit. Alex. p. 2—23.

fought during his whole reign, and from whom he had made several conquests, which he had united to his crown, after having dethroned their natural kings, thought proper to take the advantage of this juncture, in which a new prince, who was but young, had ascended the throne, for recovering their liberty, and uniting against the common usurper. Nor was he under less apprehensions from Greece. Philip, though he had permitted the several cities and commonwealths to continue to all outward appearance their ancient form of government, had however entirely changed it in reality, and made himself absolute master of it. Though absent, he nevertheless predominated in all the assemblies; and not a single resolution was taken, but in subordination to his will. Though he had subdued all Greece, either by the terror of his arms, or the secret machinations of policy, he had not had time sufficient to subject and accustom it to his power, but had left all things in it in great ferment and disorder, the minds of the vanquished not being yet calmed nor moulded to subjection.

The Macedonians reflecting on this precarious situation of things, advised Alexander to relinquish Greece, and not to persist in his resolution of subduing it by force; to recover by gentle methods the barbarians who had taken arms, and to soothe,* as it were, those glimmerings of revolt and innovation by prudent reserve, complacency, and insinuations, in order to conciliate affection. However, Alexander would not listen to these timorous counsels, but resolved to secure and support his affairs by boldness and magnanimity; firmly persuaded, that should he relax in any point at first, all his neighbours would fall upon him; and that were he to endeavour to compromise matters, he should be obliged to give up all Philip's conquests, and thus to confine his dominions to the narrow limits of Macedon. He therefore made all possible haste to check the

* Θεραπεύειν τὰς ἀρχὰς τῶν νεωτερισμῶν.

arms of the barbarians by marching his troops with the greatest expedition to the banks of the Danube, which he crossed in one night. He defeated the king of the Triballi in a great battle; made the Getæ fly at his approach; subdued several barbarous nations, some by the terror of his name, and others by force of arms; and notwithstanding the arrogant* answer of their ambassadors, he taught them to dread a danger still more near them than the falling of the sky and planets.

Whilst Alexander was thus employed at a distance against the barbarians, all the cities of Greece, who were animated more particularly by Demosthenes, formed a powerful alliance against that prince. A false report which prevailed of his death, inspired the Thebans with a boldness that proved their ruin. They cut to pieces part of the Macedonian garrison in their citadel. [p] Demosthenes, on the other side, was every day haranguing the people; and fired with contempt for Alexander, whom he called a *child*, and a †hare-brained boy, he assured the Athenians, with a decisive tone of voice, that they had nothing to fear from the new king of Macedon, who did not dare to stir out of his kingdom; but would think himself vastly happy, could he sit peaceably on his throne. At the same time he writ letters upon letters to Attalus, one of Philip's lieutenants in Asia Minor, to excite him to rebel. This Attalus was uncle to Cleopatra, Philip's second wife, and was very much disposed to listen to Demosthenes's proposals. Nevertheless, as Alexander was grown very diffident of him, for which he knew

[p] Æschin. contra Ctesiph. p. 453.

* Alexander, imagining that his name only had struck these people with terror, asked their ambassadors what things they dreaded most? They replied, with a haughty tone of voice, that they were afraid of nothing but the falling of the sky and stars.

† It is μαργίτης in Greek, a word which has many significations in that language.

there was but too much reason; he, therefore, to eradicate from his mind all the suspicions which he might entertain, and the better to screen his designs, sent all Demosthenes's letters to that prince. But Alexander saw through all his artifices, and thereupon ordered Hecatæus, one of his commanders, whom he had sent into Asia for that purpose, to have him assassinated, which was executed accordingly. Attalus's death restored tranquillity to the army, and entirely destroyed the seeds of discord and rebellion.

When Alexander had secured his kingdom from the barbarians, he marched with the utmost expedition towards Greece, and passed Thermopylæ. He then said to those who accompanied him: "Demosthenes called me, in his orations, a child, when I was in Illyria, and among the Triballi; he called me a young man when I was in Thessaly; and I must now show him, before the walls of Athens, that I am a man grown." He appeared so suddenly in Bœotia, that the Thebans could scarce believe their eyes. When he came before their walls he was willing to give them time to repent, and only demanded to have Phœnix and Prothutes, the two chief ringleaders of the revolt, delivered up to him; and published by sound of trumpet, a general pardon to all who should come over to him. But the Thebans, by way of insult, demanded to have Philotas and Antipater delivered to them; and invited, in the same manner, all who were solicitous for the liberty of Greece, to join with them in its defence. A. M. 3669. Ant. J. C. 335.

Alexander, finding it impossible for him to get the better of their obstinacy by offers of peace, saw with grief that he should be forced to employ his power, and decide the affair by force of arms. A great battle was thereupon fought, in which the Thebans exerted themselves with a bravery and ardour much beyond their strength, for the enemy exceeded them vastly in numbers: but after a long

and vigorous resistance, such as survived of the Macedonian garrison in the citadel, coming down from it and charging the Thebans in the rear, being thus surrounded on all sides, the greatest part of them were cut to pieces, and the city was taken and plundered.

It would be impossible for words to express the dreadful calamities which the Thebans suffered on this occasion. Some Thracians having pulled down the house of a virtuous lady of quality, Timoclea by name, carried off all her goods and treasures; and their captain having seized the lady, and satiated his brutal lust with her, afterwards enquired whether she had not concealed gold and silver. Timoclea, animated by an ardent desire of revenge, replying that she had hid some, took him with herself only into her garden, and showing him a well, told him, that the instant she saw the enemy enter the city, she herself had thrown into it the most valuable things in her possession. The officer, overjoyed at what he heard, drew near the well, and stooping down to see its depth, Timoclea, who was behind, pushing him with all her strength, threw him into the well, and afterwards killed him with great stones which she threw upon him. She was instantly seized by the Thracians, and being bound in chains, was carried before Alexander. The prince perceived immediately by her mien that she was a woman of quality and great spirit, for she followed those brutal wretches with a haughty air, and without discovering the least astonishment or fear. Alexander asking her who she was, Timoclea replied, I am sister to Theagenes, who fought against Philip for the liberty of Greece, and was killed in the battle of Chæronea, where he commanded. The prince, admiring the generous answer of the lady, and still more the action that she had done, gave orders that she should have leave to retire wherever she pleased with her children.

Alexander then debated in council, how to act

with regard to Thebes. The Phocæans and the people of Platææ, Thespiæ, and Orchomenus, who were all in alliance with Alexander, and had shared in his victory, represented to him the cruel treatment they had met with from the Thebans, who had destroyed their several cities; and reproached them with the zeal which they had always discovered in favour of the Persians against the Greeks, who held them in the utmost detestation; the proof of which was, the oath they all had taken to destroy Thebes, after they should have vanquished the Persians.

Cleades, one of the prisoners, being permitted to speak, endeavoured to excuse, in some measure, the revolt of the Thebans; a fault which, in his opinion, should be imputed to a rash and credulous imprudence, rather than to depravity of will and declared perfidy. He remonstrated, that his countrymen, upon a false report of Alexander's death, which they had too eagerly credited, had indeed broke into rebellion, not against the king, but against his successors: that what crimes soever they might have committed, they had been punished for them with the utmost severity, by the dreadful calamity which had befallen their city: that there now remained in it none but women, children, and old men, from whom nothing was to be feared; and who were so much the greater objects of compassion, as they had been no ways concerned in the revolt. He concluded with reminding Alexander, that Thebes, which had given birth to so many gods and heroes, several of whom were that king's ancestors, had also been the cradle of his father Philip's rising glory, and like a second native country to him.

These motives, which Cleades urged, were very strong and powerful; nevertheless, the anger of the conqueror prevailed, and the city was destroyed. However, he set at liberty the priests; all such as had right of hospitality with the Macedonians; the

descendants of Pindar, the famous poet, who had done so much honour to Greece; and such as had opposed the revolt: but all the rest, in number about thirty thousand, he sold, and upwards of six thousand had been killed in battle. The Athenians were so sensibly afflicted at the sad disaster which had befallen Thebes, that being about to solemnize the festival of the great mysteries, they suspended them, upon account of their extreme grief, and received with the greatest humanity all those who had fled from the battle and the sack of Thebes, and made Athens their asylum.

Alexander's so sudden arrival in Greece, had very much abated the haughtiness of the Athenians, and extinguished Demosthenes's vehemence and fire; but the ruin of Thebes, which was still more sudden, threw them into the utmost consternation. They, therefore, had recourse to entreaties, and sent a deputation to Alexander, to implore his clemency. Demosthenes was among the deputies; but he was no sooner arrived at mount Cytheron, than dreading the anger of that prince, he quitted the embassy, and returned home.

Immediately Alexander sent to Athens, requiring the citizens to deliver up to him ten orators, whom he supposed to have been the chief instruments in forming the league which Philip his father had defeated at Chæronea. It was on this occasion that Demosthenes related to the people the fable of the wolves and dogs, in which it is supposed, "That the wolves one day told the sheep, "that in case they desired to be at peace with them, "they must deliver up to them the dogs who were "their guard." The application was easy and natural, especially with respect to the orators, who were justly compared to dogs, whose duty is to watch, to bark, and to fight, in order to save the lives of the flock.

In this extreme difficulty in which the Athenians were involved, who could not prevail with them-

selves to deliver up their orators to certain death, though they had no other way to save their city, Demades, whom Alexander had honoured with his friendship, offered to undertake the embassy alone, and intercede for them. The king, whether he had satiated his revenge, or endeavoured to blot out, if possible, by some act of clemency, the barbarous action he had just before committed; or rather, willing to remove the several obstacles which might retard the execution of his grand design, and by that means not leave, during his absence, the least ground or pretence for murmurs, waved his demand with regard to the delivery of the orators, and was pacified by their sending Caridemus into banishment, who being a native of *Orea, had been presented by the Athenians with the freedom of their city, for the services he had done the republic. He was son-in-law to Chersobleptus, king of Thrace; had learned the art of war under Iphicrates, and had himself frequently commanded the Athenian armies. To avoid the persecution of Alexander, he took refuge with the king of Persia.

As for the Athenians, he not only forgave them the several injuries he pretended to have received, but expressed a particular regard for them, exhorting them to apply themselves vigorously to public affairs, and to keep a watchful eye over the several transactions which might happen; because, in case of his death, their city was to give laws to the rest of Greece. Historians relate, that many years after this expedition, he was seized with deep remorse for the calamity he had brought upon the Thebans, and that this made him behave with much greater humanity towards many other nations.

So dreadful an example of severity towards so powerful a city as Thebes, spread the terror of his arms through all Greece, and made all things give way before him. He summoned, at Corinth, the

* A city of Eubœa.

*assembly of the several states and free cities of Greece, to obtain from them the same supreme command against the Persians as had been granted his father a little before his death. No diet ever debated on a more important subject. It was the Western world deliberating upon the ruin of the East, and the methods for executing a revenge that had been suspended more than an age. The assembly held at this time will give rise to events, the relation of which will appear astonishing and almost incredible; and to revolutions which will change the appearance of things nearly throughout the world.

To form such a design required a prince bold, enterprising, and experienced in war; one of enlarged views, who had acquired a great name by his exploits, was not to be intimidated by dangers nor checked by obstacles; but above all, a monarch who had a supreme authority over all the states of Greece, none of which singly was powerful enough to make so arduous an attempt; and which required, in order to their acting in concert, to be subject to one chief, who might give motion to the several parts of that great body, by making them all concur to the same end. Such a prince was Alexander. It was not difficult for him to rekindle in the minds of the people their ancient hatred of the Persians, their perpetual and irreconcileable enemies; whose destruction they had more than once sworn, and whom they had determined to extirpate, in case an opportunity should ever present itself for that purpose; a hatred which the intestine feuds of the Greeks might indeed have suspended, but could never extinguish. The immortal retreat of the ten thousand Greeks, notwithstanding the vigorous opposition of the prodigious army of the Persians; the terror which Agesilaus, with a handful of men, had struck even as far as Susa; showed

* Plutarch places this diet or assembly here, but others fix it earlier; whence Dr. Prideaux supposed that it was summoned twice.

plainly what might be expected from an army, composed of the flower of the forces of all the cities of Greece and those of Macedon, commanded by generals and officers formed under Philip; and, to say all in a word, led by Alexander. The deliberations of the assembly were therefore very short, and that prince was unanimously appointed generalissimo against the Persians.

Immediately a great number of officers and governors of cities, with many philosophers, waited upon Alexander, to congratulate him upon his election. He flattered himself, that Diogenes of Sinope, who was then at Corinth, would also come like the rest, and pay his compliments. This philosopher, who entertained a very mean idea of grandeur, thought it improper to congratulate men just upon their exaltation to any dignity; but that mankind ought to wait till those persons have worthily fulfilled the duties attached to their station. Diogenes therefore did not stir out of his house: upon which Alexander, attended by all his courtiers, made him a visit. The philosopher was at that time lying down in the sun; but seeing so great a crowd of people advancing towards him, he sat up, and fixed his eyes on Alexander. This prince, surprised to see so famous a philosopher reduced to such extreme poverty, after saluting him in the kindest manner, asked whether he wanted any thing? Diogenes replied, "Yes, that you would stand a little out of "my sun-shine." This answer raised the contempt and indignation of all the courtiers; but the monarch, struck with the philosopher's greatness of soul, "Were I not Alexander," says he, "I would "be Diogenes." A very profound sense lies hid in this expression, which shows perfectly the bent and disposition of the heart of man. Alexander is sensible that he is formed to possess all things; such is his destiny, in which he makes his happiness consist: but then, in case he should not be able to

compass his ends, he is also sensible, that to be happy, he must endeavour to bring his mind to such a frame as to want nothing. In a word, *all* or *nothing* presents us with the true image of Alexander and Diogenes. * How great and powerful soever that prince might think himself, he could not on this occasion deny himself to be inferior to a man, to whom he could give, and from whom he could take, nothing.

Alexander, before he set out for Asia, was determined to consult the oracle of Apollo, on the event of the war. He therefore went to Delphi; but happened to arrive there during those days which are called *unlucky*, a season in which people were forbid consulting the oracle; and accordingly the priestess refused to go to the temple. But Alexander, who could not bear any contradiction to his will, took her forcibly by the arm; and, as he was leading her to the temple, she cried out, †"My "son, thou art irresistible." This was all he desired; and catching at these words, which he considered as spoken by the oracle, he set out for Macedonia, in order to make preparations for his great expedition.

I shall here give, in one view, a short account of those countries through which Alexander passed, till his return from India.

Alexander sets out from Macedonia, which is part of Turkey in Europe, and crosses the Hellespont, or the Straits of the Dardanelles.

He crosses Asia Minor (Natolia), where he fights two battles; the first at the passage of the river Granicus, and the second near the city of Issus.

After this second battle, he enters Syria and

* *Homo supra mensuram humanæ superbiæ tumens, vidit aliquem, cui nec dare quidquam posset, nec eripere.* SENECA de Benef. l. v. c. 6.

† Ἀνίκητος εἶ, ὦ παῖ.

Palestine; goes into Egypt, where he builds Alexandria, on one of the arms of the Nile; advances as far as Libya to the temple of Jupiter Ammon; whence he returns back, arrives at Tyre, and from thence marches towards the Euphrates.

He crosses that river, then the Tigris, and gains the celebrated victory of Arbela; possesses himself of *Babylon, and Ecbatana, the chief city of Media.

From thence he passes into Hyrcania, to the sea which goes by that name, otherwise called the Caspian Sea; and enters Parthia, Drangiana, and the country of Paropamisus.

He afterwards goes into Bactriana and Sogdiana; advances as far as the river Iaxarthes, called by Quintus Curtius the Tanais, the farther side of which is inhabited by the Scythians, whose country forms part of Great Tartary.

Alexander, after having gone through various countries, crosses the river Indus; enters India which lies on this side the Ganges, and forms part of the Great Mogul's empire, and advances very near the river Ganges, which he also intended to pass, had not his army refused to follow him. He therefore contents himself with marching to view the ocean, and goes down the river Indus to its mouth.

From Macedonia to the Ganges, very near to which river Alexander marched, is computed at least eleven hundred leagues.

Add to this the various turnings in Alexander's marches, first, from the extremity of Cilicia, where the battle of Issus was fought, to the temple of Jupiter Ammon in Libya; and his returning from thence to Tyre, a journey of three hundred leagues at least, and as much space at least for the windings of his route in different places; we shall find

*The capital of Babylonia.

that Alexander, in less than eight years, marched his army upwards of seventeen hundred leagues, without including his return to Babylon.

SECT. III. *Alexander sets out from Macedon upon his expedition against the Persians. He arrives at Ilion, and pays great honour to the tomb of Achilles. He fights the first battle against the Persians at the river Granicus, and obtains a famous victory.*

A. M. 3670. Ant. J. C. 334. [1]ALEXANDER being arrived in his kingdom, held a council with the chief officers of his army and the grandees of his court, on the expedition which he meditated against Persia, and the measures to be taken in order to ensure success. The whole assembly was unanimous, except on one article. Antipater and Parmenio were of opinion, that the king, before he engaged in an enterprise which would necessarily be a long one, ought to make choice of a consort in order to secure himself a successor to his throne. But Alexander, who was of a violent, fiery temper, did not approve of this advice; and believed, that after he had been nominated generalissimo of the Greeks, and that his father had left him an invincible army, it would be a shame for him to lose his time in solemnizing his nuptials, and waiting for the fruits of it; for which reason he determined to set out immediately.

Accordingly he offered up very splendid sacrifices to the gods, and caused to be celebrated at Dia, a city of Macedon, * scenical games, that had been instituted by one of his ancestors in honour of Jupiter

[1] Diod. l. xvii. p. 499—503. Arrian. l. i. p. 23—36. Plut. in Alex. p. 672, 673. Justin. l. xi. c. 5, 6.

* Theatrical representations were so called.

and the Muses. This festival continued nine days, agreeable to the number of those goddesses. He had a tent raised large enough to hold a hundred tables, on which, consequently, nine hundred covers might be laid. To this feast, the several princes of his family, all the ambassadors, generals, and officers, were invited. He also treated his whole army. [r] It was then he had the famous vision, in which he was exhorted to march speedily into Asia, of which mention will be made in the sequel.

Before he set out upon this expedition, he settled the affairs of Macedon, over which he appointed Antipater as viceroy, with twelve thousand foot, and nearly the same number of horse.

He also enquired into the domestic affairs of his friends, giving to one an estate in land, to another a village, to a third the revenues of a town, to a fourth the toll of a harbour. And as all the revenues of his demesnes were already employed and exhausted by his donations, Perdiccas said to him, "My lord, what is it you reserve for yourself?" Alexander replying, "Hope;" "The same hope," says Perdiccas, "ought therefore to satisfy us;" and very generously refused to accept of what the king had assigned to him.

The knowledge of the human heart, and the art of gaining it, is of great importance to a prince. Now Alexander was sensible that this art consists in making it the interest of every individual to promote his grandeur; and in governing his subjects in such a manner, that they should feel his power by no other marks than his bounty. It is then the interest of every person unites with that of the prince. They are one's own possessions, one's own happiness, which we love in his person; and we are so many times attached to him (and by as close ties) as there are things we love and receive from him. All the sequel of this history will show, that no person

[r] Joseph. Antiquit. lib. xi.

ever made a more happy use of this maxim than Alexander, who thought himself raised to the throne, merely that he might do good; and indeed his liberality, which was truly royal, was neither satisfied nor exhausted by the noblest acts of beneficence.

Alexander, after having completely settled affairs in Macedonia, and used all the precautions imaginable, to prevent any troubles from arising in it during his absence, set out for Asia in the beginning of the spring. His army consisted of little more than thirty thousand foot and four or five thousand horse; but then they were all brave men; were well disciplined, and inured to fatigues; had made several campaigns under Philip; and were each of them, * in case of necessity, capable of commanding. Most of the officers were near threescore years of age; and when they were either assembled, † or drawn up at the head of a camp, they had the air of a venerable senate. Parmenio commanded the infantry. Philotas, his son, had eighteen hundred horse ‡ under him; and Callas, the son of Harpalus, the same number of Thessalian cavalry. The rest of the horse, who were composed of natives of the several states of Greece, and amounted to six hundred, had their particular commander. The Thracians and Pæonians, who were always in front, were headed by Cassander. Alexander began his route along the lake of Cercina, towards Amphipolis; crossed the river Strymon near its mouth; afterwards the Hebrus, and arrived at Sestus after twenty days' march. He then commanded Parmenio to cross over from Sestos to Abydos, with all the horse, and part of the foot; which he accordingly did by the assistance of a

* *Ut non tam milites, quàm magistros militiæ electos putares.* JUSTIN. l. xi. c. 6.

† *Ut, si principia castrorum cerneres, senatum te alicujus priscæ reip. videre diceres.* Id.

‡ These were all Macedonians.

hundred and threescore galleys and several flat-bottomed vessels. As for Alexander, he went from Eleontum to the port of the Achaians, himself steering his own galley; and being got to the middle of the Hellespont, he sacrificed a bull to Neptune and the Nereides, and made libations in the sea from a golden cup. It is also related, that after having thrown a javelin at the land, as if thereby to take possession of it, he landed the first in Asia; and leaping from the ship, completely armed, and in the highest transports of joy, he erected altars on the shore to Jupiter, to Minerva, and to Hercules, for having favoured him with so propitious a descent. He had done the same at his leaving Europe. He depended so entirely on the happy success of his arms, and the rich spoils he should find in Asia, that he had made very little provision for so great an expedition; persuaded that war, when carried on successfully, would supply all things necessary for war. He had but seventy* talents in money to pay his army, and only a month's provision. I before observed, that on leaving Macedon he had divided his patrimony among his generals and officers; and a circumstance of still greater importance is, that he had inspired his soldiers with so much courage and confidence, that they fancied they marched, not to precarious war, but certain victory.

[s] When he came within a short distance of the city of Lampsacus, which he had determined to destroy in order to punish the rebellion of its inhabitants, he saw Anaximenes, a native of that place, coming to him. This man, who was a famous historian, had been very intimate with Philip his father; and Alexander himself had a great esteem for him, having been his pupil. The king, suspecting the business he was come upon, to be beforehand with him, swore, in express terms, that he would never grant his request. "The favour I

[s] Val. Max. l. vii. c. 3. * Seventy thousand crowns.

"have to desire of you," says Anaximenes, "is "that you would destroy Lampsacus." By this witty evasion the historian saved his country.

From thence Alexander arrived at Ilion, where he paid great honours to the manes of Achilles, and caused games to be celebrated round his tomb. He admired and envied the double felicity of that renowned Grecian, in having found, during his lifetime, a faithful friend in Patroclus; and, after his death, a herald, worthy the greatness of his exploits, in Homer. And indeed,* had it not been for the Iliad, the name of Achilles would have perished in the same grave with his body.

At last Alexander arrived on the banks of the Granicus, a river of Phrygia. The *satrapæ*, or deputy-lieutenants, waited his coming on the other side of it, firmly resolved to dispute the passage with him. Their army consisted of† one hundred thousand foot, and upwards of ten thousand horse. Memnon, who was a Rhodian, and commanded under Darius all the coast of Asia, had advised the generals not to venture a battle; but to lay waste the plains, and even the cities, thereby to starve Alexander's army, and oblige him to return back into Europe. Memnon was the most able of all Darius's generals, and had been the principal agent in his victories. It is not easy to determine what we ought to admire most in him; whether his great wisdom in council, his courage and capacity in the field, or his zeal and attachment to his sovereign. The counsel he gave on this occasion was excellent, when we consider that his enemy was fiery and im-

* *Cùm in Sigæo ad Achillis tumulum constitisset: O fortunate, inquit, adolescens, qui tuæ virtutis Homerum præconem inveneris! Et verè. Nam, nisi Ilias illa extitisset, idem tumulus, qui corpus ejus contexerat, etiam nomen abruisset.* Cic. pro Arch. n. 24.

† According to Justin, their army consisted of six hundred thousand foot, whereas Arrian declares there were no more than twenty thousand. Both these accounts are improbable, and there is doubtless some fault in the text, and therefore I follow Diodorus Siculus.

petuous; had neither town, magazine, nor place of retreat: that he was entering a country to which he was absolutely a stranger, inhabited by enemies; that delays alone would weaken and ruin him; and that his only hope and resource lay in gaining a battle immediately. But Arsites, satrap of Phrygia, opposed the opinion of Memnon, and protested he would never suffer the Grecians to make such havoc in the territories he governed. This bad advice prevailed over the judicious counsel of the foreigner (Memnon) whom the Persians, to their great prejudice, suspected of a design to protract the war, and by that means make himself necessary to Darius.

Alexander, in the mean time, marched on at the head of his heavy-armed infantry drawn up in two lines, with the cavalry in the wings: the baggage followed in the rear. Being arrived upon the banks of the Granicus, Parmenio advised him to encamp there in battle-array, in order that his forces might have time to rest themselves, and not to pass the river till next morning, because the enemy would then be less able to prevent him. He added, that it would be too dangerous to attempt crossing a river in sight of an enemy, especially as that before them was deep, and its banks very craggy; so that the Persian cavalry, who waited their coming in battle-array on the other side, might easily defeat them before they were drawn up: that besides the loss which would be sustained on this occasion, this enterprise, in case it should prove unsuccessful, would be of dangerous consequence to their future affairs; the fame and glory of arms depending on the first actions.

However, these reasons were not able to make the least impression on Alexander, who declared, that it would be a shame, should he, after crossing the Hellespont, suffer his progress to be retarded by a rivulet, for so he called the Granicus out of contempt: that they ought to take advantage of the

terror, which the suddenness of his arrival, and the boldness of his attempt, had spread among the Persians; and answer the high opinion the world conceived of his courage, and the valour of the Macedonians. The enemy's horse, which was very numerous, lined the whole shore, and formed an extended front, in order to oppose Alexander, wherever he should endeavour to pass; and the foot, which consisted chiefly of Greeks in Darius's service, was posted behind, upon an easy ascent.

The two armies continued a long time in sight of each other on the banks of the river, as if dreading the event. The Persians waited till the Macedonians should enter the river, in order to charge them to advantage upon their landing; and the latter seemed to be making choice of a place proper for crossing, and observing the disposition of their enemies. Upon this, Alexander, having ordered his horse to be brought, commanded the noblemen of the court to follow him, and behave gallantly. He himself commanded the right wing, and Parmenio the left. The king first caused a strong detachment to march into the river, himself following it with the rest of the forces. He made Parmenio advance afterwards with the left wing. He himself led on the right wing into the river, followed by the rest of the troops; the trumpets sounding, and the whole army raising cries of joy.

The Persians seeing this detachment advance forward, began to let fly their arrows, and march to a place where the declivity was not so great, in order to keep the Macedonians from landing. And now the horse engaged with great fury; one part endeavouring to land, and the other striving to prevent them. The Macedonians, whose cavalry was far inferior in number, besides the disadvantage of the ground, were wounded with the darts that were shot from the eminence; not to mention that the flower of the Persian horse were drawn together in this place; and that Memnon, in concert

with his sons, commanded there. The Macedonians therefore at first gave ground, after having lost the first ranks, which made a vigorous defence. Alexander, who had followed them close, and reinforced them with his best troops, puts himself at their head, animates them by his presence, pushes the Persians, and routs them; upon which the whole army follow after, cross the river, and attack the enemy on all sides.

Alexander first charged the thickest part of the enemy's horse, in which the generals fought. He himself was particularly conspicuous by his shield, and the plume of feathers that overshadowed his helmet, on the two sides of which there rose two wings, as it were, of a great length, and so vastly white, that they dazzled the eyes of the beholder. The charge was very furious about his person; and though only horse engaged, they fought like foot, man to man, without giving way on either side; every one striving to repulse his adversary, and gain ground of him. Spithrobates, lieutenant-governor of Ionia, and son-in-law to Darius, distinguished himself above the rest of the generals by his superior bravery. Being surrounded by forty Persian lords, all of them his relations, of experienced valour, and who never moved from his side, he carried terror wherever he moved. Alexander observing in how gallant a manner he signalized himself, clapped spurs to his horse, and advanced towards him. Immediately they engage, and each having thrown a javelin, wounded the other, though but slightly. Spithrobates falls furiously, sword in hand, upon Alexander, who, being prepared for him, thrusts his pike into his face, and lays him dead at his feet. At that very moment, Rosaces, brother to that nobleman, charging him on the side, gives him so furious a blow on the head with his battle-ax, that he beat off his plume, but went no deeper than the hair. As he was going to repeat his blow on the head, which now appeared through his fractured helmet, Clitus cuts off Rosaces's hand with one

stroke of his scimitar, and by that means saves his sovereign's life. The danger to which Alexander had been exposed, greatly animated the courage of his soldiers, who now perform wonders. The Persians in the centre of the cavalry, upon whom the light-armed troops, who had been posted in the intervals of the horse, poured a perpetual discharge of darts, being unable to sustain any longer the attack of the Macedonians, who struck them all in the face, began to give ground, and the two wings were immediately broke and put to flight. Alexander did not pursue them long, but turned about immediately to charge the foot.

These, says the historian, at first stood their ground, which was owing to the surprise they were seized with, rather than bravery. But when they saw themselves attacked at the same time by the cavalry, and the Macedonian phalanx, which had crossed the river, and that the battalions were now engaged; those of the Persians did not make either a long or a vigorous resistance, and were soon put to flight, the Grecian infantry in Darius's service excepted. This body of foot retiring to a hill, demanded a promise from Alexander to let them march away unmolested; but following the dictates of his wrath, rather than those of reason, he rushed into the midst of this body of foot, and presently lost his horse (not Bucephalus), who was killed with the thrust of a sword. The battle was so hot round him, that most of the Macedonians who lost their lives on this occasion, fell here; for they fought against a body of men who were well disciplined, had been inured to war, and fought in despair. They were all cut to pieces, two thousand excepted, who were taken prisoners.

A great number of the chief Persian commanders lay dead on the spot. Arsites fled into Phrygia, where it is said he laid violent hands upon himself, through regret that he had been the cause that the battle was fought. It would have been more glori-

ous for him had he died in the field. Twenty thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse, were killed in this engagement, on the side of the barbarians; and on that of the Macedonians, twenty-five of the royal horse were killed at the first attack. Alexander ordered Lysippus to make their statues in brass, all which were set up in a city of Macedon called Dium, from whence they were many years after carried to Rome by Q. Metellus. About threescore of the other horse were killed, and near thirty foot, who, the next day, were all laid with their arms and equipage in one grave; and the king granted an exemption to their fathers and children from every kind of tribute and service.

He also took the utmost care of the wounded, visited them, and saw their wounds dressed. He enquired very particularly into their adventures, and permitted every one of them to relate his actions in the battle, and boast his bravery. A prince gains many advantages by such a familiarity and condescension. He also granted the rites of sepulture to the grandees of Persia, and did not even refuse it to such Greeks as died in the Persian service; but all those whom he took prisoners he laid in chains, and sent them to work as slaves in Macedonia, for having fought under the barbarian standards against their country, contrary to the express prohibition made by Greece upon that head.

Alexander made it his duty and pleasure to share the honour of his victory with the Greeks; and sent particularly to the Athenians three hundred shields, being part of the plunder taken from the enemy, and caused the glorious inscription following to be inscribed on the rest of the spoils: *Alexander, son of Philip, with the Greeks (the Lacedæmonians excepted), gained these spoils from the barbarians who inhabit Asia.* A conduct of this kind evinces a very uncommon and amiable greatness of soul in a conqueror, who generally cannot, without great reluctance, admit others to share in his glory. The

greatest part of the gold and silver plate, the purple carpets, and other articles of Persian luxury, he sent to his mother.

SECT. IV. *Alexander conquers the greatest part of Asia Minor. He is seized with a dangerous disease, occasioned by bathing in the river Cydnus. Philip the physician cures him in a few days. Alexander passes the defiles of Cilicia. Darius advances at the same time. The bold and free answer of Caridemus to that prince, which costs him his life. Description of Darius's march.*

A. M. 3670. Ant. J. C. 334.

'THE success of the battle of the Granicus had all the happy consequences that could naturally be expected from it. Sardis, which was in a manner the bulwark of the barbarian empire on the side next the sea, surrendered to Alexander, who gave the citizens their liberty, and permitted them to live after their own laws. Four days after he arrived at Ephesus, carrying with him those who had been banished from thence for being his adherents, and restored its popular form of government. He assigned to the temple of Diana the tributes which were paid to the kings of Persia. He offered a great number of sacrifices to that goddess, solemnized her mysteries with the utmost pomp, and conducted the ceremony with his whole army drawn up in battle-array. The Ephesians had begun to rebuild the temple of Diana, which had been burned the very night of Alexander's birth, as was before observed, and the work was now very far advanced. Dinocrates, a famous architect, who superintended the building of the temple, was afterwards employed by this king to build Alexandria in Egypt. Alexander offered to pay the Ephesians all the expences they had already been

[t] Diod. l. xvii. p. 503—511. Arrian. l. i. p. 36—59. & l. ii. p. 60—66. Plut. in Alex. p. 673, 674. Q. Curt. l. iii. c. 1—3. Justin. l. xi. c. 7, 8. Strab. l. xiv. p. 640. Solin. c. xl.

ASIA MINOR
AND THE
EUXIN SEA
Drawn for Rollin's Antient History
By Mr. D'ANVILLE.
SCYTHIA
PALUS MÆOTIS
PONTUS EUXINUS
PHRYGIA
GALATIA
PONTUS
CAPPADOCIA
ARMENIA
PISIDIA
LYCAONIA
CATAONIA
PHASIANI
Chorzene
Thrapitis
Ingravandene
Solitudo

at, and to furnish the remainder, provided they would inscribe the temple with his name alone; for he was fond, or rather insatiable, of every kind of glory. The inhabitants of Ephesus not being willing to consent to it, and nevertheless afraid to refuse him that honour openly, had recourse to an artful flattery to enable them to evade this request. They told him that it was inconsistent for one god to erect monuments to another. Before he left Ephesus, the deputies of the cities of Tralles and Magnesia waited upon him with the keys of those places.

He afterwards marched to Miletus, which city, flattered with the hopes of a sudden and powerful support, shut their gates against him: and indeed the Persian fleet, which was very considerable, made a show as if it would succour that city; but after having made several fruitless attempts to engage that of the enemy, it was forced to sail away. Memnon had shut himself up in this fortress, with a great number of his soldiers who had escaped from the battle, and was determined to make a good defence. Alexander, who would not lose a moment's time, attacked it, and planting scaling-ladders on all sides, the scalado was carried on with great vigour, and opposed with no less intrepidity, though Alexander sent fresh troops to relieve one another without the least intermission; and this lasted several days. At last, finding his soldiers were every where repulsed, and that the city was provided with every requisite for a long siege, he planted all his machines against it, made a great number of breaches, and whenever these were attacked, a new scalado was attempted. The besieged, after sustaining all these efforts with prodigious bravery, capitulated, for fear of being taken by storm. Alexander treated all the Milesians with the utmost humanity, and sold all the foreigners who were found in it. The historians do not make any mention of Memnon, but we may reasonably suppose that he marched out with the garrison.

Alexander, seeing that the enemy's fleet had sailed away, resolved to destroy his own, the expence of it being too great, not to mention that he wanted money for things of greater importance. Some historians are even of opinion, that as he was upon the point of coming to a battle with Darius, which was to determine the fate of the two empires, he was resolved to deprive his soldiers of all hopes of retreat, and to leave them no other resource than that of victory. He, therefore, retained such vessels only of his fleet, as were absolutely necessary for transporting the military engines, and a small number of other galleys.

After possessing himself of Miletus, he marched into Caria, in order to lay siege to Halicarnassus. The city was of most difficult access from its happy situation, and had been strongly fortified. Besides, Memnon, the ablest as well as the most valiant of all Darius's commanders, had thrown himself into it with a body of choice soldiers, with design to signalize his courage and fidelity to his sovereign. He accordingly made a very noble defence, in which he was seconded by Ephialtes, another general of great merit. Whatever could be expected from the most intrepid bravery, and the most consummate knowledge in the science of war, was conspicuous on both sides on this occasion. After the besiegers had, with incredible labour, filled up part of the ditches, and brought their engines near the walls, they had the grief to see their works demolished in an instant, and their engines set on fire, by the frequent vigorous sallies of the besieged. After beating down part of the wall with their battering-rams, they were astonished to see a new one behind it; which was so suddenly built up, that it seemed to rise out of the ground. The attack of these walls, which were built in a semicircular form, destroyed a prodigious number of men, because the besieged, from the top of the towers that were raised on the several sides, took the enemy in flank. It was evidently

seen at this siege, that the strongest fortifications of a city are the valour and courage of its defenders. The siege was long, and attended with such surprising difficulties, as would have discouraged any warrior but an Alexander; yet the view of danger served only to animate his troops, and their patience was at last successful. Memnon, finding it impossible for him to hold out any longer, was forced to abandon the city. As the sea was open to him, after having put a strong garrison into the citadel, which was well stored with provisions, he took with him the surviving inhabitants, with all their riches, and conveyed them into the island of Cos, which was not far from Halicarnassus. Alexander did not think proper to besiege the citadel, it being of little importance after the city was destroyed, which he demolished to the very foundations. He thought it sufficient to encompass it with strong walls, and left some good troops in the country.

After the death of Artemisia, queen of Caria, Idrieus her brother reigned in her stead. The sceptre, according to the custom of the country, devolved upon Ada, sister and wife of Idrieus; but she was dethroned by Pexodorus, whose successor, by Darius's command, was Orontobates, his son-in-law. Ada, however, was still possessed of a fortress called Alindæ, the keys of which she had carried to Alexander, the instant she heard of his arrival in Caria, and had adopted him for her son. The king was so far from contemning this honour, that he left her the quiet possession of her own city; and after having taken Halicarnassus, as he by that means was master of the whole country, he restored the government of it to Ada.

[u] This lady, as a testimony of the deep sense she had of the favours received from Alexander, sent him every day meats dressed in the most exquisite manner; delicious pastry of all sorts; and the most

[u] Plut. in Alex. p. 677.

excellent cooks of every kind. Alexander answered the queen on this occasion, "That all this train "was of no service to him, for that he was possessed "of much better cooks, whom *Leonidas his go- "vernor had given him; one of whom prepared "him a good dinner, and that was, walking a great "deal in the morning very early; and the other "prepared him an excellent supper, and that was, "dining very moderately."

Several kings of Asia Minor submitted voluntarily to Alexander. Mithridates, king of Pontus, was one of these, who afterwards adhered to this prince, and followed him in his expeditions. He was son to Ariobarzanes, governor of Phrygia, and king of Pontus, of whom mention has been made elsewhere. [x] He is computed to be the sixth king from Artabazus, who is considered as the founder of that kingdom, of which he was put in possession by Darius, son of Hystaspes, his father. The famous Mithridates, who so long employed the Roman armies, was one of his successors.

Alexander, before he went into winter quarters, permitted all such of his soldiers as had married that year, to return into Macedonia, there to spend the winter with their wives, upon condition that they would return in the spring. He appointed three officers to lead them thither and to bring them back. This agrees exactly with the law of [y] Moses; and, as we do not find that this law or custom was used by any other nation, it is very probable that Aristotle had learned it from some Jew, with whom he became acquainted in Asia; and that approving it as a very wise and just custom, he therefore had recommended it to his pupil, who remembered it on this occasion.

A. M. 3671. Ant. J. C. 333. The next year Alexander began the campaign

[x] Florus, l. iii. c. 5.

[y] Deut. xxiv. 5.

* Βελτίονας γὰρ ὀψοποιοῦς ἔχειν ὑπὸ τῆ παιδαγωγῆ Λεωνίδη δεδομένας αὐτῷ· πρὸς μὲν τὸ ἄριστον νυκτοπορίαν, πρὸς δὲ τὸ δεῖπνον ὀλιγαριστίαν.

very early. He had debated, whether he should march directly against Darius, or should first subdue the rest of the maritime provinces. The latter plan appeared the safest, since he thereby would not be molested by such nations as he should leave behind him. [z] His progress was a little interrupted at first. Near Phaselis, a city situated between Lycia and Pamphylia, is a defile along the sea-shore, which is always dry at low water, so that travellers may pass it at that time; but when the sea rises, it is all under water. As it was now winter, Alexander, whom nothing could daunt, was desirous of passing it before the waters fell. His forces were, therefore, obliged to march a whole day in the water, which came up to their waist. Some historians, purely to embellish this incident, relate that the sea, by the Divine command, had submitted spontaneously to Alexander, and had opened a way to him, contrary to the usual course of nature; among these writers is Quintus Curtius. It is surprising that Josephus the historian, to weaken the authority of the miracle of the Jews passing through the Red Sea on dry land, should have cited this circumstance by way of example, the falsity of which Alexander himself had refuted. For Plutarch relates, that he merely wrote in one of his letters, "That when he left the city of "Phaselis he marched on foot through the pass "of the mountain called Climax:" and it is very well known that this prince, who was vastly fond of the marvellous, never let slip any opportunity of persuading the people, that the gods protected him in a very singular manner.

While he was in the neighbourhood of Phaselis, he discovered a conspiracy which was carrying on by Alexander, son of Eropus, whom he had a little before appointed general of the Thessalian cavalry, in the room of Calas, whom he had made governor

[z] Strab. l. xiv. p. 666.

of a province. Darius, upon the receipt of a letter which this traitor had sent him, promised him a reward of a thousand *talents of gold, with the kingdom of Macedonia, in case he could murder Alexander; thinking that he could not pay too dear for a crime which would rid him of so formidable an enemy. The messenger who carried the king's answer being seized, made a full confession, by which means the traitor was brought to condign punishment.

Alexander, after having settled affairs in Cilicia and Pamphylia, marched his army to Celænæ, a city of Phrygia, watered by the river Marsyas, which the fictions of poets have made so famous. He summoned the garrison of the citadel, whither the inhabitants were retired, to surrender; but these believing it impregnable, answered haughtily, that they would first die. However, finding the attack carried on with great vigour, they desired a truce of sixty days, at the expiration of which they promised to open their gates, in case they were not succoured; and accordingly, no aid arriving, they surrendered themselves upon the day fixed.

From thence the king marched into Phrygia, the capital of which was called Gordion, the ancient and famous residence of king Midas, situated on the river Sangarius. Having taken the city, he was desirous of seeing the famous chariot to which the Gordian knot was tied. This knot, which fastened the yoke to the beam, was tied with so much art, and the strings were twisted in so intricate a manner, that it was impossible to discover where it began or ended. According to an ancient tradition of the country, an oracle had foretold, that the man who could untie it, should possess the empire of Asia. As Alexander was firmly persuaded that this promise related to himself; after many fruitless

* About one million five hundred thousand pounds sterling.

trials, he cried, * "It is no matter which way it be "untied," and thereupon cut it with the sword, and by that means, says the historian, either eluded or fulfilled the oracle.

In the mean time Darius was setting every engine at work, in order to make a vigorous defence. Memnon the Rhodian advised him to carry the war into Macedonia, which counsel seemed the most proper to extricate him from the present danger; for the Lacedæmonians, and several other Greek nations, who had no affection for the Macedonians, would have been ready to join him; by which means Alexander must have been forced to leave Asia, and return suddenly over sea, to defend his own country. Darius approved this counsel, and having determined to follow it, committed the execution of it to the original proposer. Accordingly Memnon was declared admiral of the fleet, and captain-general of all the forces designed for that expedition.

Darius could not possibly have made a better choice. Memnon was the ablest general in his service, had fought a great many years under the Persian standards with the utmost fidelity. Had his advice been taken, the battle of the Granicus had not been fought. He did not abandon his master's interests after that misfortune, but had assembled the scattered remains of the army and immediately withdrew first to Miletus, from thence to Halicarnassus, and lastly into the island of Cos, where he was when he received his new commission. This place was the rendezvous for the fleet; and Memnon was now meditating wholly upon the manner how to put his design into execution. He made himself master of the island of Chios, and all Lesbos, the city of Mitylene excepted. From thence he was preparing to pass over into Eubœa, and to make Greece and Macedonia the seat of the war, but died before Mitylene, which city he had been forced to besiege. His

* *Sortem oraculi vel elusit, vel implevit.* QUINT. CURT.

death was the greatest misfortune that could possibly have happened to Persia. We see on this occasion the inestimable worth of a man of merit, whose death is sometimes the ruin of a state. The loss of Memnon frustrated the execution of the plan he had formed; for Darius not having one general in his army who was able to supply Memnon's place, abandoned entirely the only enterprise which could have saved his empire. His sole resource, therefore, now lay in the armies of the East. Darius, dissatisfied with all his generals, resolved to command in person, and appointed Babylon for the rendezvous of his army; where, upon being mustered, they were found to be about four, five, or six hundred thousand men, for historians differ very much with respect to the number.

Alexander having left Gordion, marched into Paphlagonia and Cappadocia, which he subdued. It was there he heard of Memnon's death, the news whereof confirmed him in the resolution he had taken of marching immediately into the provinces of Upper Asia. Accordingly he advanced by hasty marches into Cilicia, and arrived in the country called * Cyrus's camp. From thence there is no more than fifty stadia (two leagues and a half) to the pass of Cilicia, which is a very narrow defile, through which persons are obliged to go from Cappadocia to Tarsus. The officer who guarded it in Darius's name, had left but few soldiers in it, and those fled the instant they heard of the enemy's arrival. Upon this, Alexander entered the pass, and, after viewing very attentively the situation of the place, he admired his own good fortune; and confessed that he might have been very easily stopped and defeated there, merely by the throwing of stones: for, not to mention that this pass was so

* Quintus Curtius supposes it to be so called from Cyrus the Great, and Arrian from the Younger Cyrus, which opinion appears the most probable.

narrow, that four men completely armed could scarcely walk abreast in it; the top of the mountain hung over the road, which was not only narrow, but broken up in several places, by the fall of torrents from the mountains.

Alexander marched his whole army to the city of Tarsus, where it arrived the very instant the Persians were setting fire to that place, to prevent his deriving any benefit from the plunder of so opulent a city. But Parmenio, whom the king had sent thither with a detachment of horse, arrived very seasonably to stop the progress of the fire, and marched into the city, which he saved; the barbarians having fled the moment they heard of his arrival.

Through this city the Cydnus runs, a river not so remarkable for the breadth of its channel, as for the beauty of its waters, which are clear and limpid; but at the same time excessively cold, because of the tufted trees with which its banks are overshadowed. It was now about the end of summer, which is excessively sultry in Cilicia, and in the hottest part of the day, when the king, who was quite covered with sweat and dust, arriving on its banks, had a mind to bathe in that river, invited by the beauty and clearness of the stream. However, the instant he plunged into it, he was seized with so violent a shivering, that all the standers-by fancied he was dying. Upon this, he was carried to his tent, after fainting away. The news of this sad disaster threw the whole army into the utmost consternation. They all burst into tears, and breathed their plaints in the following words: "The greatest "prince that ever lived is torn from us in the midst "of his prosperity and conquests; not in a battle, "or at the storming of a city, but dies by his "bathing in a river. Darius, who is coming up "with us, will conquer before he has seen his "enemy. We shall be forced to retire, like so "many fugitives, through those very countries "which we entered with triumph; and as the

" places through which we must pass are either de-
" sert or depopulated, hunger alone, should we meet
" no other enemy, will itself destroy us. But who
" shall guide us in our flight, or dare to set himself
" up in Alexander's stead? And should we be so
" happy as to arrive at the Hellespont, how shall
" we furnish ourselves with vessels to cross it?"
After this, directing their whole thoughts to the prince, and forgetting themselves, they cried aloud:
" Alas! how sad is it that he who was our king,
" and the companion of our toils; a king in the
" flower of his youth, and in the course of his
" greatest prosperity, should be taken off, and in a
" manner torn from our arms!"

At last the king recovered his senses by degrees, and began to know the persons who stood round him; though the only symptom he gave of his recovery was, his being sensible of his illness. But he was more indisposed in mind than in body, for news was brought that Darius might soon arrive. Alexander bewailed perpetually his hard fate, in being thus exposed naked and defenceless to his enemy, and robbed of so noble a victory, since he was now reduced to the melancholy condition of dying obscurely in his tent, and far from having attained the glory he had promised himself. Having ordered his confidential friends and physicians to come into his tent, " You see (said he), my friends, the sad extre-
" mity to which fortune reduces me. Methinks, I
" already hear the sound of the enemy's arms, and
" see Darius advancing. He undoubtedly held in-
" telligence with my evil * genius, when he wrote
" letters to his lieutenants in so lofty and contemp-
" tuous a strain; however, he shall not obtain his
" desire, provided my physicians will attempt to

* Darius, who imagined himself sure of overcoming Alexander, had written to his lieutenants, that they should chastise this young madman; and after clothing him in purple out of derision, should send him bound hand and foot to the court. FREINSHEIM IN QUINT. CURT.

"cure me in the manner I desire. The present "condition of my affairs will not admit either of "slow remedies or fearful physicians. A speedy "death is more eligible to me than a slow cure. "In case the physicians think it is in their power "to do me any good, they are to know, that I do "not so much wish to live as to fight."

This sudden impatience of the king spread an universal alarm. The physicians, who were sensible they should be answerable for the event, did not dare to hazard violent and extraordinary remedies; especially as Darius had published, that he would reward with a thousand * talents the man who should kill Alexander. However, Philip, an Acarnanian, one of his physicians, who had always attended upon him from his youth, loved him with the utmost tenderness, not only as his sovereign but his child; raising himself (merely out of affection to Alexander) above all prudential considerations, offered to give him a dose, which, though not very violent, would nevertheless be speedy in its effects; and desired three days to prepare it. At this proposal every one trembled, but he alone whom it most concerned; Alexander being afflicted upon no other account, than because it would keep him three days from appearing at the head of his army.

While these things were doing, Alexander received a letter from Parmenio, who was left behind in Cappadocia, in whom Alexander put greater confidence than in any other of his courtiers; the purport of which was, to bid him beware of Philip, for that Darius had bribed him, by the promise of a thousand talents and his sister in marriage. This † letter gave him great uneasiness, for he was now at full leisure to weigh all the reasons he might have

* About 145,000*l.* sterling.

† *Ingentem animo solicitudinem literæ incusserant; et quicquid in utramque partem aut metus aut spes subjecerat, secretâ æstimatione pensabat.* Q. CURT.

to hope or to fear. But the confidence in a physician, whose sincere attachment and fidelity he had proved from his infancy, soon prevailed, and removed all his doubts. He folded up the letter, and put it under his bolster, without acquainting any one with the contents of it.

The day being come, Philip enters the tent with his medicine, when Alexander, taking the letter from under the bolster, gives it Philip to read. At the same time he takes the cup, and fixing his eyes on the physician, swallows the draught without the least hesitation, or without discovering the slightest suspicion or uneasiness. Philip, as he perused the letter, had showed greater signs of indignation than of fear or surprise; and throwing himself upon the king's bed—"Royal Sir," says he, with a resolute tone of voice, "your recovery will soon "clear me of the guilt of parricide with which I am "charged. The only favour I beg is, that you would "be easy in your own mind; and suffer the draught "to operate, and not regard the intelligence you "have received from servants, who indeed have "shown their zeal for your welfare; a zeal, how-"ever, very indiscreet and unseasonable." These words did not only revive the king, but filled him with hope and joy; so, taking Philip by the hand, "Be you yourself easy," says he to him, "for I "believe you are disquieted upon a double ac-"count; first for my recovery, and secondly for "your own justification."

In the mean time, the physic worked so violently, that the accidents which attended it strengthened Parmenio's accusation; for the king lost his speech, and was seized with such strong fainting fits, that he had hardly any pulse left, or the least symptoms of life. Philip employed all the powers of physic to recover him, and in every lucid interval diverted him with agreeable subjects; conversing with him at one time about his mother and sisters, and another, about the mighty victory which was ad-

vancing, with hasty steps, to crown his past triumphs. At last the physcian's art having gained the ascendant, and diffused through every vein a salutary and vivific virtue; his mind first began to resume its former vigour, and afterwards his body, much sooner than had been expected. Three days after he showed himself to the army, who were never satisfied with gazing upon him, and could scarce believe their eyes; so much had the greatness of the danger terrified and dejected them. No caresses were enough for the physician; every one embracing him with the utmost tenderness, and returning him thanks as to a god, who had saved the life of their sovereign.

Besides the respect which these people had naturally for their kings, words can never express how greatly they admired this monarch more than any other, and the strong affection they bore him. They were persuaded, that he did not undertake any thing without the immediate assistance of the gods; and as success always attended his designs, even his rashness conduced to his glory, and seemed to have something divine in it. His youth, which one would have concluded incapable of such mighty enterprises, and which however overcame all difficulties, gave a fresh merit and a brighter lustre to his actions * Besides, certain advantages that generally are little regarded, which yet engage in a wonderful manner the hearts of the soldiery, greatly augmented the merit of Alexander; such as his taking delight in bodily exercises; his discovering a skill and excellency in them; his going clothed like the common soldiers, and knowing how to familiarize himself with inferiors, without lessening his dignity; his sharing in toils and dangers with the most laborious and intrepid; qualities

* *Quæ leviora haberi solent, plerumque in re militari gratiora vulgo sunt.* Q. CURT.

which, whether Alexander owed them to nature, or had acquired them by reflection, made him equally beloved and respected by his soldiers.

During this interval, Darius was on his march, full of a vain confidence in the immense number of his troops, and forming a judgment of the two armies merely from their disparity in that point. The plains of Assyria, in which he was encamped, gave him an opportunity of extending his horse as he pleased, and of availing himself of the advantage which number gave him. But led astray by his arrogance, he entangles himself in narrow passes, where his cavalry and the multitude of his troops, so far from doing him any service, would only encumber one another; and advances towards the enemy, for whom he should have waited, and runs visibly to his own destruction. Nevertheless, the grandees of his court, whose custom it was to flatter and applaud his every action, congratulated him beforehand on the victory he would soon obtain, as if it had been certain and inevitable. There was at that time, in the army of Darius, one Caridemus, an Athenian, a man of great experience in war, who personally hated Alexander, for having caused him to be banished from Athens. Darius, turning to this Athenian, asked him, whether he believed him powerful enough to defeat his enemy. Caridemus, who had been brought up in the bosom of liberty, forgetting that he was in a country of slavery, where to oppose the inclination of a prince is of the most dangerous consequence, replied as follows: "Possibly, Sir, you may not be pleased with my telling "you the truth; but, in case I do not do it now, it "will be too late hereafter. This splendid parade of "war, this prodigious number of men which has "drained all the East, might indeed be formidable "to your neighbours. Gold and purple glitter in "every part of your army, which is so prodigiously "splendid, that those who have not seen it, could

" never form an idea of its magnificence. But the " soldiers who compose the Macedonian army, ter- " rible to behold, and bristling in every part with " arms, do not amuse themselves with such idle " show. Their only care is to draw up in a regu- " lar manner their battalions, and to cover them- " selves close with their bucklers and pikes. Their " phalanx is a body of infantry, which engages " without flinching; and keeps so close in their " ranks, that the soldiers and their arms form a " kind of impenetrable work. In a word, every " single man among them, the officers as well as " soldiers, are so well trained, so attentive to the " command of their leaders, that, whether they are " to assemble under their standards, to turn to the " right or left, to double their ranks, and face about " to the enemy on all sides, at the least signal they " make every motion and evolution of the art of " war. But that you may be persuaded, these Ma- " cedonians are not invited hither* from the hopes " of gaining gold and silver; know, that this ex- " cellent discipline has subsisted hitherto by the " sole aid and precepts of poverty. Are they hun- " gry? they satisfy their appetite with any kind of " food. Are they weary? they repose themselves " on the bare ground, and in the day-time are al- " ways upon their feet. Do you fancy that the " Thessalian cavalry, and that of Acarnania and " Ætolia, who are all armed cap-a-pie, are to be " repulsed by stones hurled from slings, and with " sticks burnt at the end? Troops like themselves " will be necessary to check their career; and suc- " cours must be procured from their country to " oppose them. Send therefore thither all the use- " less gold and silver which I see here, and purchase " with it formidable soldiers." † Darius was natu-

* *Et, ne auri argentique studio teneri putes, adhuc illa disciplina paupertate magistrâ stetit.* Q. CURT.

† *Erat Dario mite ac tractabile ingenium, nisi etiam suam na-*

rally of a mild, tractable disposition; but good fortune will corrupt the most happy temper. Few monarchs are resolute and courageous enough to withstand their own power, to repulse the flattery of the many people who are perpetually inflaming their passions, and to esteem a man who loves them so well, as to contradict and displease them, by telling them the genuine truth. Darius, not having strength of mind sufficient for this, gives orders for dragging to execution a man who had fled to him for protection, was at that time his guest, and gave him at that time the best counsel that could have been proposed to him. However, as this cruel treatment could not silence Caridemus, he cried aloud, with his usual freedom: "My "avenger is at hand, in the person of that very "man in opposition to whom I gave you counsel, "and he will soon punish you for despising it. "* As for you, Darius, in whom sovereign power "has wrought so sudden a change, you will teach "posterity, that when once men abandon them-"selves to the delusion of fortune, she erases from "their minds all the seeds of goodness implanted "in them by nature." Darius soon repented his having put to death so valuable a person; and experienced, but too late, the truth of all he had told him.

The king advanced with his troops towards the Euphrates. It was a custom long used by the Persians, never to set out upon a march till after sunrise, at which time the trumpet was sounded for that purpose from the king's tent. Over this tent was exhibited to the view of the whole army, the image of the sun set in crystal. The order they observed in their march was this.

First, were carried silver altars, on which lay the

turam plerumque fortuna corrumperet. Q. CURT. I suspect the particle *suam.*

* *Tu quidem, licentiâ regni subitò mutatus, documentum eris posteris, homines, cùm se permisere fortunæ, etiam naturam dedisce.* Q. CURT.

fire, called by them sacred and eternal; and these were followed by the Magi, singing hymns after the manner of their country. They were accompanied by three hundred and sixty-five youths (agreeable to the number of days in a year) clothed in purple robes. Afterwards came a car consecrated to *Jupiter, drawn by white horses, and followed by a courser of a prodigious size, to which they gave the name of the sun's horse; and the equerries were dressed in white, each having a golden rod in his hand.

Ten chariots, adorned with sculptures in gold and silver, followed after. Then marched a body of horse, composed of twelve nations, whose manners and customs were various, and all armed in a different manner. Next advanced those whom the Persians called *The Immortals*, amounting to ten thousand, who surpassed the rest of the barbarians in the sumptuousness of their apparel. They all wore golden collars, were clothed in robes of gold tissue, with surtouts (having sleeves to them) adorned with precious stones.

Thirty paces from them, followed those called the king's cousins or †relations, to the number of fifteen thousand, in habits very much resembling those of women, and more remarkable for the vain pomp of their dress than the glitter of their arms.

Those called the ‡Doryphori came after; they carried the king's cloak, and walked before his chariot, in which he appeared seated as on a high throne. This chariot was enriched on both sides with images of the gods in gold and silver; and from the middle of the yoke, which was covered with jewels, rose two statues a cubit in height, the

* Jupiter was a god unknown to the Persians. Quintus Curtius therefore, in all probability, calls the first and greatest of their gods by that name.

† This was a title of dignity. Possibly a great number of the king's relations were in this body.

‡ These were guards who carried a half-pike.

one representing War, the other Peace, having a golden eagle between them, with wings extended, as ready to take its flight.

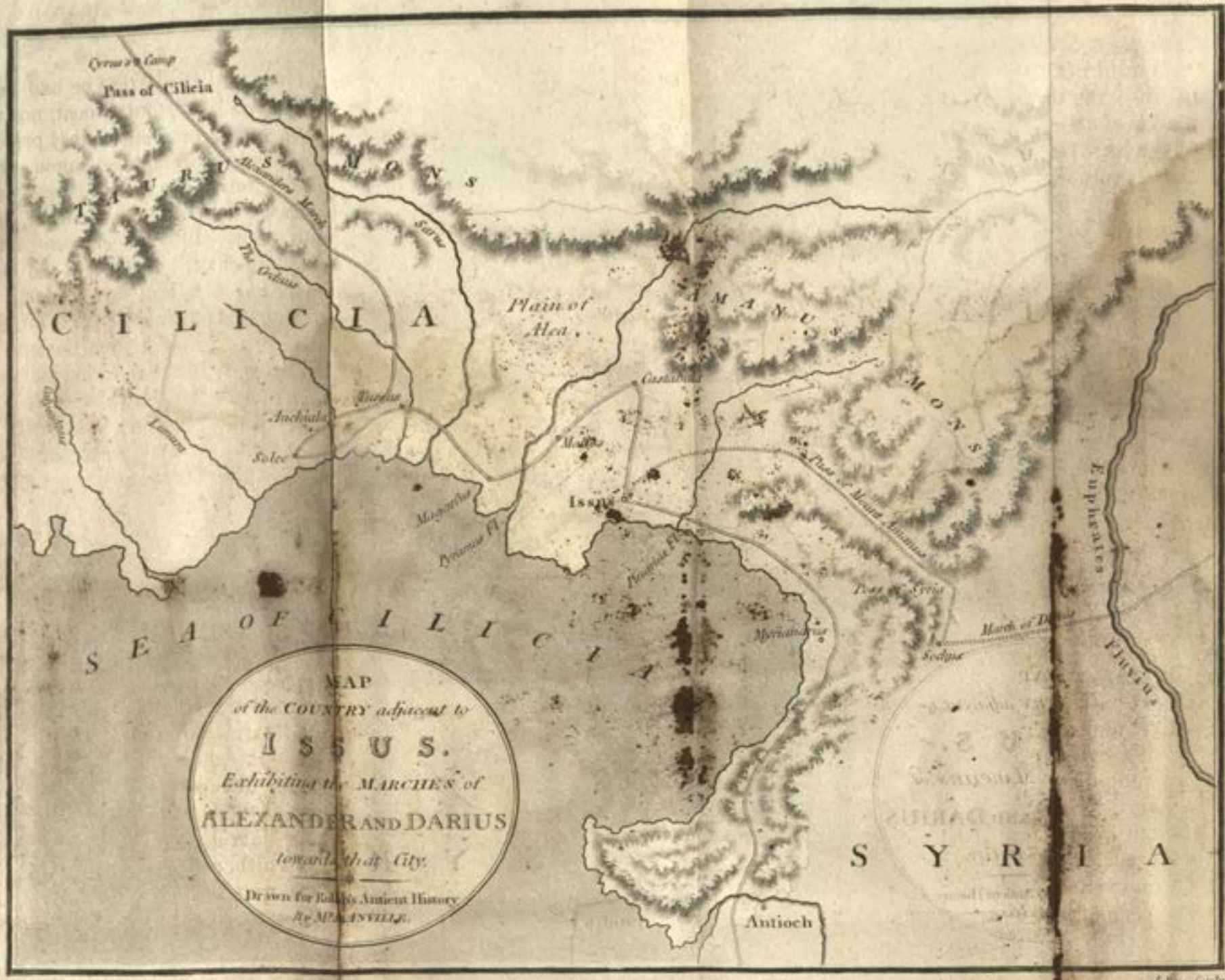
But nothing could equal the magnificence of the king. He was clothed in a vest of purple, striped with silver, and over it a long robe glittering all over with gold and precious stones, on which were represented two falcons rushing from the clouds, and pecking at one another. Around his waist he wore a *golden girdle, after the manner of women, whence his scimetar hung, the scabbard of which flamed all over with gems. On his head he wore a tiara or mitre, round which was a fillet of blue mixed with white.

On each side of him walked two hundred of his nearest relations, followed by ten thousand pikemen, whose pikes were adorned with silver and tipped with gold; and lastly, thirty thousand infantry, who composed the rear-guard. These were followed by the king's horses (four hundred in number), all which were led.

About one hundred, or a hundred and twenty paces from thence, came Sysigambis, Darius's mother, seated on a chariot, and his consort on another, with the several female attendants of both queens riding on horseback. Afterwards came fifteen large chariots, in which were the king's children, and those who had the care of their education, with a band of eunuchs, who are to this day in great esteem with those nations. Then marched the concubines, to the number of three hundred and sixty, in the equipage of queens, followed by six hundred mules and three hundred camels, which carried the king's treasure, and were guarded by a great body of archers.

After these came the wives of the crown-officers, and of the greatest lords of the court; then the sutlers, and servants of the army, seated also in chariots.

* Cidaris.



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J. Rye Sculp.

In the rear were a body of light-armed troops, with their commanders, who closed the whole march.

Would not the reader believe, that he had been reading the description of a tournament, not the march of an army? Could he imagine that princes of the least reason would have been so stupid, as to incorporate with their forces so cumbersome a train of women, princesses, concubines, eunuchs, and domestics of both sexes? But the custom of the country was reason sufficient. Darius, at the head of six hundred thousand men, and surrounded with this mighty pomp prepared for himself alone, fancied he was great, and formed still higher notions of himself. Yet should we reduce him to his just proportion and his personal worth, how little would he appear! But he is not the only one in this way of thinking, and of whom we may form the same judgment. But it is time for us to bring the two monarchs to blows.

SECT. V. *Alexander gains a famous victory over Darius, near the city of Issus. The consequences of that victory.*

FOR the clearer understanding of Alexander's march and that of Darius, and the better fixing the situation of the spot where the second battle was fought, we must distinguish three defiles or passes. The first of these is immediately at the descent from mount Taurus, in the way to the city of Tarsus, through which, as has been already seen, Alexander marched from Cappadocia into Cilicia. The second is the pass of Cilicia or Syria, leading A. M. 3671. Ant. J. C. 333.

[b] Diod. l. xvii. p. 512—518. Arrian. l. ii. p. 66—82. Plut. in Alex. p. 675, 676. Q. Curt. l. iii. c. 4—12. Justin, l. xi. c. 9 & 10.

from Cilicia into Syria; and the third is the pass of Amanus, so called from that mountain. This pass, which leads into Cilicia from Assyria, is much higher than the pass of Syria, northward.

Alexander had detached Parmenio with part of the army to seize the pass of Syria, in order to secure a free passage for his army. As for himself, after marching from Tarsus, he arrived the next day at Anchiala, a city which Sardanapalus is said to have built. His tomb was still to be seen in that city with this inscription, *Sardanapalus built Anchiala and Tarsus in one day:* GO, PASSENGER, EAT, DRINK, AND REJOICE, FOR THE REST IS NOTHING. From hence he came to Soli, where he offered sacrifices to Æsculapius, in gratitude for the recovery of his health. Alexander himself headed the ceremony with lighted tapers, followed by the whole army, and he there solemnized games; after which he returned to Tarsus. Having commanded Philotas to march the cavalry through the Aleian plains, towards the river Pyramus, he himself went with the infantry and his life-guards to Magarsus, whence he arrived at Mallos, and afterwards at Castabala. Advice had been brought him, that Darius, with his whole army, was encamped at Sochos in Assyria, two days' journey from Cilicia. Alexander held a council of war upon that news; when all his generals and officers entreating him to lead them against the enemy, he set out the next day to meet the Persians. Parmenio had taken the little city of Issus, and, after possessing himself of the pass of Syria, had left a body of forces to secure it. The king left the sick in Issus, marched his whole army through the pass, and encamped near the city of Myriandros, where the badness of the weather obliged him to halt.

In the mean time, Darius was in the plains of Assyria, which were of great extent. The Grecian commanders who were in his service, and formed

the chief strength of his army, advised him to wait there the coming up of the enemy. For, besides that this spot was open on all sides, and very advantageous for his horse, it was spacious enough to contain his numerous host, with all the baggage and other things belonging to the army. However, if he should not approve of their counsel, they then advised him to separate this multitude, and select such only as were the flower of his troops; and consequently not venture his whole army upon a single battle, which perhaps might be decisive. However, the courtiers, with whom the courts of monarchs, as Arrian observes, for ever abound, called these Greeks an unfaithful nation, and venal wretches; and hinted to Darius, that the only motive of their counselling the king to divide his troops was, that, after they should once be separated from the rest, they might have an easier opportunity of delivering up into the enemy's hands whatever might be in their power; but that the safest way would be, to surround them with the whole army, and cut them to pieces, as a memorable example of the punishment due to traitors. This proposal was shocking to Darius, who was naturally of a very mild and humane disposition. He therefore answered, "That "he was far from ever designing to commit so hor- "rible a crime; that should he be guilty of it, no "nation would afterwards give the least credit to "his promises; that it *was never known that a "person had been put to death for giving impru- "dent counsel; that no man would ever venture "to give his opinion, if it were attended with such "danger, a circumstance that would be of the most "fatal consequence to princes." He then thanked the Greeks for their zeal and good will, and condescended to lay before them the reasons which prompted him not to follow their advice.

* *Neminem stolidum consilium capite luere debere; defuturos enim qui suaderent, si suasisse periculum esset.* Q. CURT.

The courtiers had persuaded Darius, that Alexander's long delay in coming up with them, was a proof and an effect of the terror with which the approach of the Persian army had filled him (for they had not heard a word of his indisposition); that fortune, merely for their sake, had led Alexander into defiles and narrow passes, whence it would be impossible for him to get out, in case they should fall upon him immediately; that they ought to seize this favourable opportunity, for fear the enemy should fly, by which means Alexander would escape them. Upon this, it was resolved in council, that the army should march in search of him; the gods, says an [c] historian, blinding the eyes of that prince, that he might rush down the precipice they had prepared for him, and thereby make way for the destruction of the Persian monarchy.

Darius, having sent his treasure with his most precious effects to Damascus, a city of Syria, under a small convoy, marched the main body of the army towards Cilicia, and entered it by the pass of Amanus, which lies far above the passes of Syria. His queen and mother, with the princesses his daughters, and the little prince his son, followed the army, according to the custom of the Persians, but remained in the camp during the battle. When he had advanced a little way into Cilicia (from east westward) he turned short towards Issus, not knowing that Alexander was behind; for he had been assured that this prince fled before him, and was retiring in great disorder into Syria; and therefore Darius was now considering how he might best pursue him. He barbarously put to death all the sick who were in the city of Issus, a few soldiers excepted, whom he dismissed, after making them view every part of his camp, in order that they might be spectators of the prodigious multitude of his forces. These soldiers accordingly brought

[c] Arrian.

Alexander word of Darius's approach, which he could scarce believe, from its great improbability, though there was nothing he desired more earnestly. But he himself was soon an eye-witness to the truth of it, upon which he began to think seriously of preparing for battle.

Alexander fearing, as the barbarians were so numerous, that they would attack him in his camp, fortified it with ditches and palisadoes, discovering an incredible joy to see his desire fulfilled, which was to engage in those passes, whither the gods seemed to have led Darius expressly to deliver him into his hands.

And, indeed, this spot of ground, which was but wide enough for a small army to act and move at liberty in, reduced, in some measure, the two armies to an equality. By this means the Macedonians had space sufficient to employ their whole army; whereas the Persians had not room for the twentieth part of theirs.

Nevertheless Alexander, as frequently happens even to the greatest captains, felt some emotion when he saw that he was going to hazard all at one blow. The more fortune had favoured him hitherto, the more he now dreaded her frowns; the moment approaching which was to determine his fate. But, on the other side, his courage revived from the reflection, that the rewards of his toils exceeded the dangers of them; and though he was uncertain with regard to the victory, he at least hoped to die gloriously, and like Alexander. However, he did not divulge these thoughts to any one, well knowing, that upon the approach of a battle, a general ought not to discover the least marks of sadness or perplexity; and that the troops should read nothing but resolution and intrepidity in the countenance of their commander.

Having made his soldiers refresh themselves, and ordered them to be ready for the third watch of the

night, which began at twelve, he went* to the top of a mountain, and there, by torch-light, sacrificed, after the manner of his country, to the gods of the place. As soon as the signal was given, his army, which was ready to march and fight, being commanded to make greater speed, arrived by day-break at the several posts assigned them; but now the couriers bringing word that Darius was not above thirty furlongs from them, the king caused his army to halt, and then drew it up in battle array. The peasants in the greatest terror came also and acquainted Darius with the arrival of the enemy, which he would not at first believe, imagining, as we have observed, that Alexander fled before him, and was endeavouring to escape. This news threw his troops into the utmost confusion, who in that surprise ran to their arms with great precipitation and disorder.

The spot where the battle was fought lay near the city of Issus, and was bounded by mountains on one side, and the sea on the other. The plain, that was situated between them both, must have been of considerable extent, as the two armies encamped in it; and I before observed, that Darius's was vastly numerous. The river Pinarus ran through the middle of this plain from the mountain to the sea, and divided it very near into two equal parts. The mountain formed a hollow like a gulf, the extremity of which in a curve line bounded part of the plain.

Alexander drew up his army in the following order. He posted at the extremity of the right wing, which stood near the mountain, the Argyraspides,† commanded by Nicanor; then the phalanx of Cœnus, and afterwards that of Perdiccas, which

* The ancients used to offer up their sacrifices upon eminences.

† This was a body of infantry, distinguished by their silver shields, but more so by their great bravery.

terminated in the centre of the main army. On the extremity of the left wing he posted the phalanx of Amyntas, then that of Ptolemy, and lastly, that of Meleager. Thus the famous Macedonian phalanx was formed, which we find was composed of six distinct corps or brigades. Each of these brigades was headed by able generals; but Alexander was always commander in chief, and directed all the movements. The horse were placed on the two wings; the Macedonians, with the Thessalians, on the right, and those of Peloponnesus, with the other allies, on the left. Craterus commanded all the foot of the left wing, and Parmenio the whole wing. Alexander had reserved to himself the command of the right. He had desired Parmenio to keep as near the sea as possible, to prevent the barbarians from surrounding him; and Nicanor, on the contrary, was ordered to keep at some distance from the mountains, in order to be out of the reach of the arrows discharged by those who were posted on them. He covered the horse of his right wing with the light horse of Protomachus and the Pæonians, and his foot with the bowmen of Antiochus. He reserved the *Argians (commanded by Attalus), who were greatly esteemed, and some forces that were newly arrived from Greece, to oppose those which Darius had posted on the mountains.

As for Darius's army, it was drawn up in the following order. Having heard that Alexander was marching towards him in battle array, he commanded thirty thousand horse and twenty thousand bowmen to cross the river Pinarus, that he might have an opportunity to draw up his army in a commodious manner on the hither side. In the centre he posted the thirty thousand Greeks in his service, who, doubtless, were the flower and chief strength of his army, and were not at all inferior in bravery

* Agria was a city between the mountains Hæmus and Rhodope.

to the Macedonian phalanx, with thirty thousand Cardacians on their right, and as many on their left; the field of battle not being able to contain a greater number. These were all heavily armed. The rest of the infantry, distinguished by their several nations, were ranged behind the first line. It were to be wished that Arrian had told us the depth of each of those two lines; but it must have been prodigious, if we consider the extreme narrowness of the pass, and the amazing multitude of the Persian forces. On the mountain which lay to their left, against Alexander's right wing, Darius posted twenty thousand men, who were so ranged (in consequence of the several windings of the mountain) that some were behind Alexander's army, and others before it.

Darius, after having set his army in battle array, made his horse cross the river again, and dispatched the greatest part of them toward the sea against Parmenio, because they could fight on that spot with the greatest advantage: the rest of his cavalry he sent to the left, towards the mountain. However, finding that these would be of no service on that side, because of the too great narrowness of the spot, he caused a great part of them to wheel about to the right. As for himself, he took his post in the centre of his army, pursuant to the custom of the Persian monarchs.

Alexander, observing that most of the enemy's horse was to oppose his left wing, which consisted only of those of Peloponnesus, and of some other allies, detached immediately to it the Thessalian cavalry, which he caused to wheel round behind his battalions, to prevent their being seen by the barbarians. On the same side (the left) he posted before his foot, the Cretan bowmen, and the Thracians of Sitalces (a king of Thrace), who were covered by the horse. The foreigners in his service were behind all the rest.

Perceiving that his right wing did not extend so

far as the left of the Persians, which might surround and attack it in flank, he drew from the centre of his army two regiments of foot, which he detached thither, with orders for them to march behind, to prevent their being seen by the enemy. He also reinforced that wing with the forces which he had opposed to the barbarians on the mountains; for, seeing they did not come down, he made the Agrians and some other bowmen attack them, and drive them towards the summit of it; so that he left only three hundred horse to keep them in check, and sent the rest, as I observed, to reinforce his right wing, which by this means extended further than that of the Persians.

The two armies being thus drawn up in order of battle, Alexander marched very slowly, that his soldiers might take a little breath; so that it was supposed they would not engage till very late: for Darius still continued with his army on the other side of the river, in order not to lose the advantageous situation of his post; and even caused such parts of the shore as were not craggy to be secured with palisadoes, whence the Macedonians concluded that he was already afraid of being defeated. The two armies being come in sight, Alexander, riding along the ranks, called, by their several names, the principal officers both of the Macedonians and foreigners; and exhorted the soldiers to signalize themselves, speaking to each nation according to its peculiar genius and disposition. To the Macedonians he represented, "the victories they had "formerly gained in Europe; the still recent glory "of the battle of the Granicus; the great number "of cities and provinces they had left behind them, "all which they had subdued." He added, that "one single victory would make them masters "of the Persian empire; and that the spoils of "the East would be the reward of their bravery "and toils." The Greeks he animated, "by the "remembrance of the many calamities which the

" Persians (those irreconcileable enemies to Greece) " had brought upon them; and set before them " the famous battles of Marathon, of Thermopylæ, " of Salamis, of Platææ, and the many others by " which they had acquired immortal glory." He bid the Illyrians and Thracians, nations who used to subsist by plunder and rapine, " view the ene- " my's army, every part of which shone with gold " and purple, and was not loaded so much with " arms as with booty: that they therefore should " push forward (they who were men), and strip all " those women of their ornaments; and exchange " their mountains, covered perpetually with ice and " snow, for the smiling plains and rich fields of " Persia." The moment he had ended, the whole army set up a shout, and eagerly desired to be led on directly against the enemy.

Alexander had advanced at first very slowly, to prevent the ranks, or the front of his phalanx, from breaking, and halted by intervals: but when he was got within bow-shot, he commanded all his right wing to plunge impetuously into the river, purposely that they might surprise the barbarians, come sooner to a close engagement, and be less exposed to the enemy's arrows; in all of which he was very successful. Both sides fought with the utmost bravery and resolution; and being now forced to fight close, they charged on both sides sword in hand, when a dreadful slaughter ensued; for they engaged man to man, each aiming the point of his sword at the face of his opponent. Alexander, who performed the duty both of a private soldier and of a commander, wished nothing so ardently as the glory of killing, with his own hand, Darius, who being seated on a high chariot, was conspicuous to the whole army; and by that means was a powerful object, both to encourage his own soldiers to defend, and the enemy to attack him. And now the battle grew more furious and bloody than before; so that a great number of Persian noblemen were killed.

Each side fought with incredible bravery. Oxathres, brother to Darius, observing that Alexander was going to charge that monarch with the utmost vigour, rushed before his chariot with the horse under his command, and distinguished himself above all the rest. The horses that drew Darius's chariot, being quite covered with wounds, began to prance about; and shook the yoke so violently, that they were upon the point of overturning the king, who, afraid of falling alive into the hands of his enemies, leaped down, and mounted another chariot. The rest observing this, fled as fast as possible, and throwing down their arms, made the best of their way. Alexander had received a slight wound in his thigh, but happily it was not attended with ill consequences.

Whilst part of the Macedonian infantry (posted to the right) were pursuing the advantage they had gained against the Persians, the remainder of them who engaged the Greeks met with greater resistance. These observing that the body of infantry in question were no longer covered by the right wing of Alexander's army, which was pursuing the enemy, came and attacked it in flank. The engagement was very bloody, and victory a long time doubtful. The Greeks endeavoured to push the Macedonians into the river, and to recover the disorder into which the left wing had been thrown. The Macedonians also signalized themselves with the utmost bravery, in order to preserve the advantage which Alexander had just before gained, and support the honour of their phalanx, which had always been considered as invincible. There was also a perpetual jealousy between these two nations (the Greeks and Macedonians) which greatly increased their courage, and made the resistance on each side very vigorous. On Alexander's side, Ptolemy the son of Seleucus lost his life, with a hundred and twenty other considerable

officers, who all had behaved with the utmost gallantry.

In the mean time the right wing, which was victorious under its monarch, after defeating all who opposed it, wheeled to the left against those Greeks who were fighting with the rest of the Macedonian phalanx, charged them vigorously; and attacking them in flank, entirely routed them.

At the very beginning of the engagement, the Persian cavalry which was in the right wing (without waiting for their being attacked by the Macedonians) had crossed the river, and rushed upon the Thessalian horse, several of whose squadrons were broken by it. Upon this, the remainder of the latter, in order to avoid the impetuosity of the first charge, and induce the Persians to break their ranks, made a feint of retiring, as if terrified by the prodigious numbers of the enemy. The Persians seeing this, were filled with boldness and confidence, and thereupon the greatest part of them advancing without order or precaution, as to a certain victory, had no thoughts but of pursuing the enemy. Upon this, the Thessalians seeing them in such confusion, faced about on a sudden, and renewed the fight with fresh ardour. The Persians made a brave defence, till they saw Darius put to flight, and the Greeks cut to pieces by the phalanx.

The routing of the Persian cavalry completed the defeat of the army. The Persian horse suffered very much in the retreat, from the great weight of the arms of their riders; not to mention, that as they retired in disorder, and crowded in great numbers through the defiles, they bruised and unhorsed one another, and were more annoyed by their own soldiers than by the enemy. Besides, the Thessalian cavalry pursued them with so much fury, that they were as much shattered as the infantry, and lost as many men.

With regard to Darius, as we before observed,

the instant he saw his left wing broke, he was one of the first who fled in his chariot; but getting afterwards into craggy rugged places, he mounted on horseback, throwing down his bow, shield, and royal mantle. Alexander, however, did not attempt to pursue him, till he saw his phalanx had conquered the Greeks, and the Persian horse put to flight; and this allowed the fugitive monarch to gain the start of his pursuers considerably.

About eight thousand of the Greeks that were in Darius's service, (with their officers at their head, who were very brave,) retired over the mountains, towards Tripoli in Syria, where, finding the transports which had brought them from Lesbos upon dry ground, they fitted out as many of them as suited their purpose, and burnt the rest, to prevent their being pursued.

As for the barbarians, having exerted themselves with bravery enough in the first attack, they afterwards gave way in the most shameful manner; and, being intent upon nothing but saving themselves, they took different ways. Some struck into the high road which led directly to Persia; others ran into woods and lonely mountains; and a small number returned to their camp, which the victorious enemy had already taken and plundered.

Sysigambis, Darius's mother, and that monarch's queen, who also was his sister, had remained in it with two of the king's daughters, a son of his (a child), and some Persian ladies. For the rest of the women had been carried to Damascus, with part of Darius's treasure, and all such things as contributed only to the luxury and magnificence of his court. No more than three thousand talents* were found in his camp; but the rest of the treasure fell afterwards into the hands of Parmenio, at his taking the city of Damascus.

Alexander, weary of pursuing Darius, seeing

* About 440,000*l.* sterling.

night draw on, and that it would be impossible for him to overtake that monarch, returned to the enemy's camp, which his soldiers had just before plundered. Such was the end of this memorable battle, fought the fourth year of Alexander's reign. The *Persians, either in the engagement or the rout, lost a great number of their forces, both horse and foot; but very few were killed on Alexander's side.

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That very evening he invited the grandees of his court and his chief officers to a feast, at which he himself was present, notwithstanding the wound he had received, it having only grazed the skin. But they were no sooner set down at table, than they heard from a neighbouring tent, a great noise, intermixed with groans, which frighted all the company; insomuch that the soldiers, who were upon guard before the king's tent, ran to their arms, being afraid of an insurrection. But it was found, that the persons who made this clamour were the mother and wife of Darius, and the rest of the captive ladies, who, supposing that prince dead, bewailed his loss, according to the custom of the barbarians, with dreadful cries and howlings. An eunuch, who had seen Darius's cloak in the hands of a soldier, imagining he had killed him, and afterwards stripped him of that garment, had carried them that false account.

It is said that Alexander, upon being told the reason of this false alarm, could not refrain from tears, when he considered the sad calamity of Darius, and the tender disposition of those princesses, who seemed to have forgotten their own misfortunes, and to be sensible of his alone. He thereupon sent Leonatus, one of his chief courtiers, to

* According to Quintus Curtius and Arrian, the Persians lost a hundred thousand foot and ten thousand horse. And the former historian relates, that no more than a hundred and fifty horse and three hundred foot were lost on Alexander's side, which does not seem very probable.

assure them that the man whose death they bewailed was alive. Leonatus, taking some soldiers with him, came to the tent of the princesses, and sent word, that he was come to pay them a visit in the king's name. The persons who were at the entrance of the tent, seeing a band of armed men, imagined that their mistresses were undone; and accordingly ran into the tent, crying aloud, that their last hour was come, and that soldiers were dispatched to murder them; so that these princesses being seized with the utmost distraction, did not make the least answer, but waited in deep silence for the orders of the conqueror. At last, Leonatus having staid a long time, and seeing no one appear, left his soldiers at the door, and came into the tent: but their terror increased, when they saw a man enter among them without being introduced. They thereupon threw themselves at his feet, and entreated, that "before he put them to "death, they might be allowed to bury Darius "after the manner of their country; and that when "they had paid this last duty to their king, they "should die contented." Leonatus answered, that "Darius was living; and that so far from "giving them any offence, they should be treated "as queens, and live in their former splendour." Sysigambis hearing this, began to recover her spirits, and permitted Leonatus to give her his hand, to raise her from the ground.

The next day Alexander, after visiting the wounded, caused the last honours to be paid to the dead, in presence of the whole army, drawn up in order of battle, in their richest accoutrements. He treated the Persians of distinction in the same manner, and permitted Darius's mother to bury what persons she pleased, according to the customs and ceremonies practised in her country. However, the prudent princess used that permission in regard only to a few who were her near relations; and that with such a modesty and reserve as she thought

suited her present condition. The king testified his joy and gratitude to the whole army, especially to the chief officers, whose actions he applauded in the strongest terms, as well those of which he himself had been an eye-witness, as those which had been only related to him; and he made presents to all, according to their merit and rank.

After Alexander had performed these several duties, truly worthy a great monarch, he sent a message to the queens, to inform them that he was coming to pay them a visit; and accordingly, commanding all his train to withdraw, he entered the tent, accompanied only by Hephæstion. He was his favourite; and as they had been brought up together, the king revealed all his secrets to him, and * nobody else dared to speak so freely to him; but even Hephæstion made so cautious and discreet an use of that liberty, that he seemed to take it, not so much out of inclination, as from a desire to obey the king who would have it so. They were of the same age, but Hephæstion was taller, so that the queens took him at first for the king, and paid him their respects as such: but some captive eunuchs showing them Alexander, Sysigambis fell prostrate before him, and begged his pardon; declaring, that as she had never seen him, she hoped that consideration would plead her apology. The king, raising her from the ground, replied, "Dear "mother, you are not mistaken, for he also is "Alexander:" † a fine expression, which does honour to both! Had Alexander always thought and acted in this manner, he would have justly merited the title of Great; but ‡ fortune had not yet cor

* *Libertatis quoque in eo admonendo non alius jus haberi quod tamen ita usurpabat, ut magis à rege permissum dicatum ab eo videretur.* QUINT. CURTIUS.

† *O donum inclitæ vocis, danti pariter atque accipienti glo-sum!* VAL. MAX. l. iv. c. 7.

‡ *Sed nondum fortuna se animo ejus infuderat. Itaque or eam moderatè et prudenter tulit: ad ultimum magnitudine non cepit.* QUINT. CURT.

rupted his mind. He bore her at first with moderation and wisdom; but at last she overpowered him, and he became unable to resist her.

Sysigambis, strongly affected with these marks of goodness and humanity, could not forbear testifying her gratitude upon that account. "Great "prince (said she to him), what words shall I find "to express my thanks, in such a manner as may "answer your generosity! You call me your mo-"ther, and honour me still with the title of queen, "whereas I confess myself your captive. I *know "what I have been, and what I now am. I know "the whole extent of my past grandeur, and find "I can support all the weight of my present ill "fortune. But it will be glorious for you, as you "now have an absolute power over us, to make us "feel it by your clemency only, and not by ill "treatment."

The king, after comforting the princesses, took Darius's son in his arms. The little child, without discovering the least terror, embraced Alexander, who being affected with his confidence, and turning about to Hephæstion, said to him: "O that "Darius had had some portion of his tender dis-"position!"

It is certain that Alexander, in this beginning of his career, behaved in such a manner, that he surpassed, in clemency and goodness, all the kings his predecessors; and proved himself superior to a passion which conquers and enslaves the strongest. Darius's consort was the most lovely princess in the world, as Darius himself was the most beautiful of princes, and of a very tall and most majestic shape; and the princesses their daughters resembled them. They were, says Plutarch, in Alexander's camp, [illegible] at of an enemy, but as in a sacred tem-[illegible] a sanctuary assigned for the asylum of [illegible]stity and modesty, in which all the princesses

Et præterire fortunæ fastigium capio, et præsentis jugum possum. QUINT. CURT.

lived so retired, that they were not seen by any person, nor did any one dare to approach their apartments.

We even find, that after the first visit above-mentioned, which was a respectful and ceremonious one, Alexander, to avoid exposing himself to the dangers of human frailty, took a solemn resolution never to visit Darius's queen any more. [d] He himself informs us of this memorable circumstance, in a letter written by him to Parmenio, in which he commanded him to put to death certain Macedonians who had forced the wives of some foreign soldiers. In this letter the following words occur: "For, as to myself, it will be found that I neither "even saw, nor would see, the wife of Darius; and "did not suffer any person to speak of her beauty "before me." We are to remember that Alexander was young, victorious, and free, that is, not engaged in marriage, as has been observed of the first [e] Scipio on a like occasion. *Et juvenis, et cœlebs, et victor.*

To conclude, he treated these princesses with such humanity, that nothing but the remembrance that they were captives, could have made them sensible of their calamity; and of all the advantages they possessed before, nothing was wanting with regard to Alexander, but that trust and confidence, which no one can repose in an enemy, how kindly soever he behaves.

[d] Plut. in Alex. [e] Val. Max. l. iv. c. 3.

ATROPATENE
MEDIA
ARABIA DESERTA
THE
AST.
ARABIA PETREA
MOUTH
Desert
ADIMEA
GULF

SECT. VI. *Alexander marches victorious into Syria. The treasures deposited in Damascus are delivered to him. Darius writes a letter to Alexander in the most haughty terms, which he answers in the same style. The gates of the city of Sidon are opened to him. Abdolonymus is placed upon the throne against his will. Alexander lays siege to Tyre, which, after having made a vigorous defence for seven months, is taken by storm. The fulfilling of different prophecies relating to Tyre.*

ALEXANDER set out towards Syria, after having consecrated three altars on the river Pinarus, the first to Jupiter, the second to Hercules, and the third to Minerva, as so many monuments of his victory. He had sent Parmenio to Damascus, in which Darius's treasure was deposited. The governor of the city, betraying his sovereign from whom he had now no further expectations, wrote [illegible] to acquaint him, that he was ready to deliver into his hands all the treasure and other rich effects of Darius. But being desirous of covering his treason with a specious pretext, he pretended that he was not secure in the city, so caused, by daybreak, all the money and the richest things in it to be put on men's backs, and fled away with the whole, seemingly with intention to secure them, but in reality to deliver them up to the enemy, as he had agreed with Parmenio, who had opened the letter addressed to the king. At the first sight of the forces which this general headed, those who carried the burthens being frighted, threw them down and fled away, as did the soldiers who convoyed them, and the governor him-

A. M. 3672. Ant. J. C. 332.

Diod. l. xvii. p. 517, 518. Arrian, l. ii. p. 83—86. Plut. in Alex. p. 678. Quint. Curt. l. iv. c. 1. Justin. l. xi. c. 10.

self, who appeared more terrified than the rest. On this occasion immense riches were seen scattered up and down the fields; all the gold and silver designed to pay so great an army; the splendid equipages of so many great lords and ladies; the golden vases and bridles, magnificent tents, and carriages abandoned by their drivers: in a word, whatever the long prosperity and frugality of so many kings had amassed during many ages, was abandoned to the conqueror.

But the most moving part of this sad scene was to see the wives of the satraps and grandees of Persia, most of whom dragged their little children after them; so much the greater objects of compassion, as they were less sensible of their misfortune. Among these were three young princesses, daughters of Ochus, who had reigned before Darius; the widow of this Ochus; the daughter of Oxathres, brother to Darius; the wife of Artabazus, the greatest lord of the court, and his son Ilioneus. There were also taken prisoners the wife and son of Rharnabazus, whom the king had appointed admiral of all the coasts; three daughters of Mentor, wife and son of Memnon, that illustrious [illegible] indeed there was scarcely one noble [illegible] Persia but shared in [illegible] calamity.

There also were found in [illegible] sadors of the Grecian cities, particularly those of Lacedæmon and Athens, whom [illegible] had lodged in a safe asylum, [illegible] under the protection of that train.

Besides money and plate, which was afterwards coined, and amounted to immense sums, [illegible] thousand men and seven thousand beasts laden with baggage were taken. Parmenio in his letter to Alexander, informs him that he found in Darius's camp three hundred and twenty-nine of Darius's concubines, all admirably well skilled in music[a].

[a] Athen. l. xiii. p. 607.

a multitude of officers, whose business was to regulate and prepare every thing relating to entertainments; such as to make wreaths, to prepare perfumes and essences, to dress viands, to make the pastry, to preside over the wine cellars, to give out the wine, and similar offices. There were four hundred and ninety-two of these officers; a train worthy a prince who runs to meet his ruin!

Darius, who a few hours before was at the head of so mighty and splendid an army, and who came into the field mounted on a chariot, with the pride of a conqueror, rather than with the equipage of a warrior, was flying over plains, which, from being before covered with the infinite multitude of his forces, now appeared like a desert or vast solitude, This ill-fated prince rode swiftly the whole night, accompanied by a very few attendants: for all had not taken the same road, and most of those who accompanied him could not keep up with him, as he often changed his horses. At last he arrived at Soochos, where he assembled the remains of his army, which amounted only to four thousand men, including Persians as well as foreigners; and from thence he made all possible haste to Thapsacus, in order to have the Euphrates between him and Alexander.

. . . . . .

In the mean time, Parmenio having carried all the booty into Damascus, the king commanded him to take care of it, and likewise of the captives. Most of the cities of Syria surrendered at the first approach of the conqueror. Being arrived at Marathos, he received a letter from Darius, in which he styled himself king, without bestowing that title on Alexander. He commanded rather than entreated him, "to ask any sum of money he should think proper, by way of ransom for his mother, his wife, and children: that with regard to

His city was two or three days' journey from the place where the battle was fought.

" their dispute for empire, he might, if he thought
" proper, decide it in one general battle, to which
" both parties should bring an equal number of
" troops; but that in case he were still capable of
" complying with good advice, he would recom-
" mend to him to rest contented with the kingdom
" of his ancestors, and not invade that of another;
" that they might henceforward live as good friends
" and faithful allies; that he himself was ready to
" swear to the observance of these articles, and to
" receive Alexander's oath."

This letter, which breathed so unseasonable a pride and haughtiness, exceedingly offended Alexander. He therefore wrote the following answer:
" Alexander the king to Darius. The ancient Da-
" rius, whose name you assume, in former times
" entirely ruined the Greeks who inhabit the coasts
" of the Hellespont, and the Ionians, our ancient
" colonies. He next crossed the sea at the head of
" a powerful army, and carried the war into the very
" heart of Macedonia and Greece. After him
" Xerxes made another descent with a dreadful
" number of barbarians, in order to fight us;
" having been overcome in a naval engagement,
" left, at his retiring, Mardonius in Greece, who
" plundered our cities, and laid waste our plains.
" But who has not heard that Philip, my father,
" was assassinated by wretches suborned thereto by
" your partizans, in hopes of a great reward? For
" it is customary with the Persians to undertake im-
" pious wars, and, when armed in the field, to set
" a price upon the heads of their enemies. And
" even you yourself, very lately, though at the head
" of a vast army, promised nevertheless a thou-
" sand talents to any person who should kill me.
" therefore only defend myself, and am not the
" gressor. And consequently the gods, who a
" declare for the just cause, have favoured my
" and, aided by their protection, I have subje
" a great part of Asia, and defeated you, D

"in a pitched battle. However, though I ought "not to grant any request you make, since you "have not acted fairly in this war; nevertheless, in "case you will appear before me in a supplicating "posture, I give you my word, that I will restore "to you, without any ransom, your mother, your "wife, and children. I will let you see that I know "how to conquer, and to oblige the conquered. * "If you are afraid of surrendering yourself to me, "I now assure you, upon my honour, that you "may do it without the least danger. But remem- "ber, when you next write to me, that you write "not only to a king, but to your king." Thersippus was ordered to carry this letter.

Alexander, marching from thence into Phœnicia, the citizens of Byblos opened their gates to him. Every one submitted as he advanced, but no people did this with greater pleasure than the Sidonians. We have seen in what manner Ochus had destroyed their city eighteen years before, and put all the inhabitants of it to the sword. After he was returned into Persia, those of the citizens, who, on account of their traffic, or for some other cause, had been absent, and by that means had escaped the massacre, returned thither, and rebuilt their city. But they had retained such an abhorrence of the Persians, on account of this barbarous act, that they were overjoyed at this opportunity to throw off their yoke; and consequently they were the first in that country who sent to make their submission to the conqueror, in opposition to Strato their king, who had declared in favour of Darius. Alexander dethroned him and permitted Hephæstion to select in his stead whomsoever of the Sidonians he should judge worthy of so exalted a station.

This favourite was quartered at the house of two young men who were brothers, and of the most considerable family in the city; to these he offered

* *Et vincere, et consulere victis scio.* Q. CURT.

the crown; but they refused it, telling him, that according to the laws of their country, no person could ascend the throne unless he were of the blood royal. Hephæstion admiring this greatness of soul, which could contemn what others strive to obtain by fire and sword: "Continue (says he to them) in this "way of thinking; you, who are the first that ever "were sensible that it is much more glorious to re-"fuse a diadem than to accept it. However, name "me some person of the royal family, who may re-"member when he is king, that it was you who set "the crown on his head." The brothers, observing that several through excessive ambition aspired to this high station, and to obtain it paid a servile court to Alexander's favourites, declared that they did not know any person more worthy of the diadem than one Abdolonymus, descended, though remotely, from the royal line; but who, at the same time, was so poor, that he was obliged to get his bread by day-labour in a garden without the city. His honesty and integrity had reduced him, as well as many more, to such extreme poverty. Solely intent upon his labour, he did not hear the clash[illegible] of the arms which had shaken all Asia.

Immediately the two brothers went in search of Abdolonymus, with the royal garments, and found him weeding his garden. They then saluted him king, and one of them addressed him thus: "You "must now change your tatters for the dress I "have brought you. Put off the mean and con-"temptible habit in which you have grown o[illegible];* "assume the sentiments of a prince; but when you "are seated on the throne, continue to preserve the "virtue which made you worthy of it. And when "you shall have ascended it, and by that means "become the supreme dispenser of life and de[illegible]

* *Cape Regis animum, et in eam fortunam quâ dignus [illegible] continentiam profer. Et, cùm in regali solio residebis, [illegible] cisque omnium civium dominus, cave obliviscaris hujus s[illegible] quo accipis regnum, imò hercule, propter quem.* QUINT. C[illegible]

"over all your citizens, be sure never to forget the "condition in which, or rather for which, you were "elected." Abdolonymus looked upon the whole as a dream, and, unable to guess the meaning of it, asked if they were not ashamed to ridicule him in that manner. But, as he made a greater resistance than suited their inclinations, they themselves washed him, and threw over his shoulders a purple robe, richly embroidered with gold; then, after repeated oaths of their being in earnest, they conducted him to the palace.

The news of this was immediately spread over the whole city. Most of the inhabitants were overjoyed at it, but some murmured, especially the rich, who, despising Abdolonymus's former abject state, could not forbear showing their resentment upon that account in the king's court. Alexander commanded the new-elected prince to be sent for, and after surveying him attentively a long time, spoke thus: "Thy * air and mien do not contradict what is re- "lated of thy extraction; but I should be glad to "know with what frame of mind thou didst bear "thy poverty?"—"Would to the gods (replied he) "that I may bear this crown with equal fortitude. "These hands have procured me all I desired; "and whilst I possessed nothing, I wanted no- "thing." This answer gave Alexander a high idea of Abdolonymus's virtue; so that he presented him not only with all the rich furniture which had belonged to Strato, but with part of the Persian plunder, and likewise annexed one of the neighbouring provinces to his dominions.

* *Corporis*, inquit, *habitus famæ generis non repugnat. Sed libet scire, inopiam quâ patientiâ tuleris.* Tum ille: *Utinam*, inquit, *eodem animo regnum* † *pati possim! Hæ manus suffecere de- mihi. Nihil habenti, nihil defuit.* Q. CURT.

† The thought is beautiful and just. He considers the regal dignity as a burthen, more difficult to be borne than poverty: *regnum pati.*

[h] Syria and Phœnicia were already subdued by the Macedonians, the city of Tyre excepted. This city was justly entitled the queen of the sea, that element bringing to it the tribute of all nations. She boasted of being the first that invented navigation, and taught mankind the art of braving the wind and waves by the assistance of a frail bark. The happy situation of Tyre, the convenience and extent of its ports, the character of its inhabitants, who were industrious, laborious, patient, and extremely courteous to strangers, invited thither merchants from all parts of the globe; so that it might be considered, not so much as a city belonging to any particular nation, as the common city of all nations, and the centre of their commerce.

Upon Alexander's advancing towards it, the Tyrians sent him an embassy with presents for himself, and refreshments for his army. They were willing to have him for their friend, but not for their master; so that when he discovered a desire of entering their city, in order to offer a sacrifice to Hercules, its tutelar god, they refused him admission. But this conqueror, after gaining so many victories, had too haughty a spirit to put up with such an affront, and thereupon was resolved to force them to it by a siege, which they, on the other side, were determined to sustain with the utmost vigour. The spring was now coming on. Tyre was at that time seated in an island of the sea, about a quarter of a *league from the continent. It was surrounded with a strong wall a hundred and fifty feet high, which the waves of the sea washed: and the Carthaginians (a colony from Tyre), a mighty people, and sovereigns of the ocean, whose ambassadors were at that time in the city, offering to [illegible]

[h] Diod. l. xvii. p. 518—525. Arrian, l. ii. p. 87—100. Curt. in Alex. p. 678 & 679. Q. Curt. l. iv. c. 2, 3, 4. Justin. l. xi. c. 10.

* Four furlongs.

according to ancient custom, an annual sacrifice, had engaged themselves to succour the Tyrians. It was this that made them so haughty. Firmly determined not to surrender, they fix machines on the ramparts and on the towers, arm their young men, and build work-houses for the artificers, of whom there were great numbers in the city; so that every part resounded with the noise of warlike preparations. They likewise made iron grapples to throw on the enemy's works, and tear them away; as also cramp-irons, and such like instruments, invented for the defence of cities.

Alexander imagined that there were essential reasons why he should possess himself of Tyre. He was sensible that he could not invade Egypt easily, so long as the Persians should be masters of the sea, nor pursue Darius with safety, in case he should leave behind him so large an extent of country, the inhabitants of which were either enemies, or suspected to be so. He likewise was afraid, lest some insurrection should break out in Greece; and that his enemies, after having retaken [illegible] his absence the maritime cities of Asia Minor, and increased their fleet, might make his country the seat of war while he was employed in pursuing Darius in the plains of Babylon. These apprehensions were the more justly grounded, as the Lacedæmonians had declared openly against him, and the Athenians sided with him more out of fear than affection. But, in case he should conquer Tyre, all Phœnicia being then subject to him, he [illegible] able to dispossess the Persians of half [illegible] army, which consisted of the fleet of [illegible] ce; and would soon make himself ma[illegible] island of Cyprus and of Egypt, which could not resist him the instant he was become master at sea.

On the other side, it should seem, that, according to all the rules of war, Alexander, after the [illegible] of Issus, ought to have pursued Darius vi-

gorously, and neither given him an opportunity of recovering from the fright into which his defeat had thrown him, nor allowed him time to raise a new army; the success of the enterprise, which appeared infallible, being the only thing that could make him formidable and superior to all his enemies. Add to this, that in case Alexander should fail in his attempt to take this city (which was not very unlikely), he would discredit his own arms, would lose the fruit of his victories, and prove to the enemy that he was not invincible. But God, who had appointed this monarch to chastise the pride of Tyre, as will be seen hereafter, did not once permit those thoughts to enter his mind; but determined him to lay siege to the place, in spite of all the difficulties which opposed so hazardous a design, and the many reasons which should have prompted him to pursue quite different measures.

It was impossible to come near this city in order to storm it, without making a causeway which would reach from the continent to the island; and an attempt of this kind would be attended with difficulties that were seemingly insurmountable. The little arm of the sea, which separated the island from the continent, was exposed to the west wind, which often raised such dreadful storms there, that the waves would in an instant sweep away all his works. Besides, as the city was surrounded on all sides by the sea, there was no fixing scaling-ladders, nor erecting batteries, but at a distance in the ships; and the wall, which projected into the sea towards the lower part, prevented people from landing; not to mention that the military engines which might have been put on board the galleys, could not do much execution, the waves were so very tumultuous.

But nothing was capable of checking or vanquishing the resolution of Alexander, who was determined to carry the city at any rate. However, as the few vessels he possessed lay at a great distance

from him, and the siege of so strong a place might possibly last a long time, and so retard his other enterprises, he thought proper first to attempt an accommodation. Accordingly, he sent heralds, who proposed a peace between Alexander and their city; but these the Tyrians killed, contrary to the law of nations, and threw them from the top of the walls into the sea. Alexander, exasperated at so cruel an outrage, formed a resolution at once, and employed his whole attention in raising a dike. He found in the ruins of old Tyre, which stood on the continent, and was called Palæ-Tyrus, materials to make piers, and he took all the stones and rubbish from it. Mount Libanus, which was not far distant from it, so famous in Scripture for its cedars, furnished him with wood for piles and other timber work.

The soldiers began the pier with great alacrity, being animated by the presence of their sovereign, who himself gave out all the orders; and who, * knowing perfectly how to insinuate himself into the good will, and to gain the affections of his troops, excited some by praises, and others by slight reprimands, intermixed with kind expressions, and softened by promises. At first they advanced with pretty great speed, the piles being easily driven into the slime, which served as mortar for the stones; and as the place where these works were carrying on was at some distance from the city, they went on without interruption. But the farther they went from the shore, the greater difficulties they met with: because the sea was deeper, and the workmen were very much annoyed by the darts discharged from the top of the walls. The enemy, who were masters of the sea, coming forward in boats, and raking the dike on each side, prevented the Macedonians from carrying it on with vigour. Then adding insults to their attacks, they cried

* *Haudquaquam rudis tractandi militares animos.* Q. CURT.

aloud to Alexander's soldiers, "That it was a noble "sight to see those conquerors, whose names were "so renowned all the world over, carrying burthens "on their backs like so many beasts." And they would afterwards ask them in a contemptuous tone of voice, "Whether Alexander were greater than "Neptune; and whether he pretended to prevail "over that god?"

But these taunts did but inflame the courage of the soldiers. At last the causeway appeared above water, began to show a level of a considerable breadth, and to approach the city. Then the besieged perceiving with terror the vastness of the work, which the sea had till then kept from their sight, came in barks in order to view the bank, which was not yet firm. These barks were full of slingers, bowmen, and others, who hurled javelins, and even fire; and being spread to the right and left about the bank, they shot on all sides upon the workmen, several of whom were wounded; it not being possible for them to ward off the blows, because of the great ease and swiftness with which the boats moved backwards and forwards; so that they were obliged to leave the work to defend themselves. It was therefore resolved, that skins and sails should be spread to cover the workmen; and that two wooden towers should be raised at the head of the bank, to prevent the approaches of the enemy.

On the other side, the Tyrians made a descent on the shore, out of the view of the camp, where they landed some soldiers, who cut to pieces those that carried the stones; and on mount Libanus there also were some Arabian peasants, who meeting the Macedonians straggling up and down, killed near thirty of them, and took prisoners very near the same number. These small losses obliged Alexander to separate his troops into different bodies.

The besieged, in the mean time, employed every invention, every stratagem that could be devised, to ruin the enemy's works. They took a transport-

vessel, and filling it with vine-branches and other dry materials, made a large enclosure near the prow, wherein they threw all these things, with sulphur and pitch, and other combustible matters. In the middle of this enclosure they set up two masts, to each of which they fixed two sail-yards, on which were hung kettles full of oil, and such like unctuous substances. They afterwards loaded the hinder part of the vessel with stones and sand, in order to raise the prow; and taking advantage of a favourable wind, they towed it to sea by the assistance of their galleys. As soon as they were come near the towers, they set fire to the vessel, and drew it towards the extremity of the causeway. In the mean time, the sailors, who were in it, leaped into the sea and swam away. Immediately the fire catched, with great violence, the towers, and the rest of the works which were at the head of the causeway; and the sail yards being driven backward and forward, threw oil upon the fire, and increased the flame. And, to prevent the Macedonians from extinguishing it, the Tyrians, who were in their galleys, were perpetually hurling at the towers fiery darts and burning torches, insomuch that there was no approaching them. Several Macedonians lost their lives in a miserable manner on the causeway; being either shot through with arrows, or burnt to death; whilst others, throwing down their arms, leaped into the sea. But as they were swimming away, the Tyrians, choosing to take them alive rather than kill them, maimed their hands with clubs and stones; and after disabling them, carried them off. At the same time, the besieged, coming out of the city in little boats, beat down the edges of the causeway, tore up its stakes, and burnt the rest of the engines.

Alexander, though he saw most of his designs defeated, and his works demolished, was not at all dejected with his loss and disappointment. His soldiers endeavoured, with redoubled vigour, to re-

pair the ruins of the causeway; and made and planted new machines with such incredible celerity, as quite astonished the enemy. Alexander himself was present on all occasions, and superintended every part of the works. His presence and great abilities caused them to advance still more than the multitude of hands employed in them. The whole was near finished, and brought almost to the wall of the city, when there arose on a sudden an impetuous wind, which drove the waves with so much fury against the bank, that the cement and other things that bound it gave way, and the water rushing through the stones, broke it in the middle. As soon as the great heap of stones which supported the earth was thrown down, the whole sunk at once, as into an abyss.

Any other than Alexander would that instant have quite laid aside his enterprise; and indeed he himself debated whether he should not raise the siege. But a superior Power, who had foretold and sworn the ruin of Tyre, and whose orders, without being conscious of it, this prince only executed, prompted him to continue the siege, and dispelling all his fear and anxiety, inspired him with courage and confidence, and fired the breasts of his whole army with the same sentiments. For now the soldiers, as if but that moment arrived before the city, forgetting all the toils they had undergone, began to raise a new mole, at which they worked incessantly.

Alexander was sensible, that it would not be possible for him either to complete the causeway, or take the city, as long as the Tyrians should continue masters at sea. He therefore resolved to assemble before Sidon his few remaining galleys. At the same time, the kings of * Aradus and Byblos, hearing that Alexander had conquered their cities, abandoned the Persian fleet, and joined him with their vessels, and those of the Sidonians, which made in all eighty sail. There arrived also, much about the same time,

* Cities of Phœnicia.

ten galleys from Rhodes, three from Soli and Mallos, ten from Lycia, and one from Macedonia of fifty oars. A little after, the kings of Cyprus, hearing that the Persian army had been defeated near the city of Issus, and that Alexander had possessed himself of Phœnicia, brought him a reinforcement of upwards of one hundred and twenty galleys.

The king, whilst his soldiers were preparing the ships and engines, took some troops of horse, with his own regiment of guards, and marched towards a mountain of Arabia, called Antilibanus. The tender regard he had for his old tutor, who was absolutely resolved to follow his pupil, exposed Alexander to very great danger. This was Lysimachus, who gave the name of Achilles to his scholar, and called himself* Phœnix. When the king was got to the foot of the mountain, he leaped from his horse, and began to walk. His troops got a considerable way before him. It was already late, and Alexander not being willing to leave his preceptor, who was very corpulent, and scarce able to walk, was by that means separated from his little army, accompanied only by a very few soldiers; and in this manner spent the whole night very near the enemy, who were so numerous, that they might easily have overpowered him. However, his usual good fortune and courage extricated him from this danger; so that, coming up afterwards with his forces, he advanced forward into the country, took all the strong places either by force or capitulation, and returned the eleventh day to Sidon, where he found Alexander, son of Polemocrates, who had brought him a reinforcement of four thousand Greeks from Peloponnesus.

The fleet being ready, Alexander took some soldiers from among his guards, and these he embarked with him, in order to employ them in close fight with the enemy; and then set sail towards

* It is well known that Phœnix was governor to Achilles.

Tyre in order of battle. He himself was on the extremity of the right wing, which extended itself towards the main ocean, being accompanied by the kings of Cyprus and Phœnicia; the left was commanded by Craterus. The Tyrians were at first determined to give battle; but after they heard of the uniting of these forces, and saw the army advance, which made a grand appearance (for Alexander had halted to wait the coming up of his left wing), they kept all their galleys in the harbours, to prevent the enemy from entering them. When the king saw this, he advanced nearer the city; and finding it would be impossible for him to force the port which lay towards Sidon, because of the extreme narrowness of the entrance, and its being defended by a large number of galleys, all whose prows were turned towards the main ocean, he only sunk three of them which lay without, and afterwards came to an anchor with his whole fleet, pretty near the mole, along the shore, where his ships rode in safety.

Whilst all these things were doing, the new mole was carried on with great vigour. The workmen threw into the sea whole trees with all their branches on them; and laid great stones over these, on which they put other trees, and the latter they covered with a kind of unctuous earth, which served instead of mortar. Afterwards heaping more trees and stones on these, the whole thus joined together formed one entire body. This causeway was made wider than the former, in order that the towers, that were built in the middle, might be out of the reach of such arrows as should be shot from those ships which might attempt to break down the edges of the bank. The besieged, on the other side, exerted themselves with extraordinary bravery, and did all that lay in their power to stop the progress of the work. But nothing was of so much service to them as their divers, who swimming under water, came unperceived quite up to the bank, and with hooks drew such branches to

them as projected beyond the work; and pulling forward with great strength, forced away every thing that was over them. This was one expedient by which the work was retarded; however, after many delays, the patience of the workmen surmounting every obstacle, it was at last finished in its utmost perfection. The Macedonians placed military engines of all kinds on the causeway, in order to shake the walls with battering-rams, and hurl on the besieged arrows, stones, and burning torches.

At the same time, Alexander ordered the Cyprian fleet, commanded by Andromachus, to take its station before the harbour which lay towards Sidon; and that of Phœnicia before the harbour on the other side of the causeway facing Egypt; towards that part where his own tent was pitched; and made preparations for attacking the city on every side. The Tyrians, in their turn, prepared for a vigorous defence. On that side which lay towards the causeway, they had erected towers on the wall, which was of a prodigious height, and of a proportionable breadth, the whole built with great stones cemented together with mortar. The access to any other part was very near as difficnlt, the enemy having fenced the foot of the wall with great stones, to keep the enemy from approaching it. The business then was, first to draw these away, which could not be done but with the utmost difficulty, because the soldiers could not keep very firm on their legs, in the ships. Besides, the Tyrians advanced with covered galleys, and cut the cables which held the ships at anchor: so that Alexander was obliged to cover, in like manner, several vessels of thirty rowers each, and to station these across, to secure the anchors from the attacks of the Tyrian galleys. But still the divers came and cut them unperceived, so that they were at last forced to fix them with iron chains. After this, they drew these stones with cable-ropes, and carrying them off with engines, they were thrown to the bottom of the sea,

where it was not possible for them to do any further mischief. The foot of the wall being thus cleared, the vessels had very easy access to it. In this manner the Tyrians were invested on all sides, and attacked at the same time both by sea and land.

The Macedonians had joined (two and two) galleys of four banks of oars, in such a manner, that the prows were fastened, and the sterns so far distant one from the other, as was necessary for the pieces of timber between them to be of a proper length. After this they threw from one stern to the other sail-yards, which were fastened together by planks laid across, in order for the soldiers to stand fast on that space. The galleys being thus equipped, they rowed towards the city, and shot (under covert) against those who defended the walls, the prows serving them as so many parapets. The king caused them to advance about midnight, in order to surround the walls, and make a general assault. The Tyrians now gave themselves for lost, when on a sudden the sky was overspread with such thick clouds, as quite took away the faint glimmerings of light which before darted through the gloom. The sea rises by insensible decrees; and the billows being swelled by the fury of the winds, raise a dreadful storm. The vessels dash one against the other with so much violence, that the cables, which before fastened them together, are either loosened or break to pieces; the planks split, and, making a horrible crash, carry off the soldiers with them; for the tempest was so furious, that it was not possible to manage or steer galleys thus fastened together. The soldier was a hinderance to the sailor, and the sailor to the soldier; and, as happens on such occasions, those took the command whose business it was to obey; fear and anxiety throwing all things into confusion. But now the rowers exerted themselves with so much vigour, that they got the better of the sea, and seemed to rescue by main force their ships from the waves. At last

they brought them near the shore, but the greatest part in a shattered condition.

At the same time there arrived at Tyre thirty ambassadors from Carthage, who did not bring the least succours, though they had promised such mighty things. Instead of this, they only made excuses, declaring that it was with the greatest grief the Carthaginians found themselves absolutely unable to assist the Tyrians in any manner; for that they themselves were engaged in a war, not as *before for empire, but to save their country. And indeed the Syracusans were laying waste all Africa at that time with a powerful army, and had pitched their camp not far from the walls of Carthage. The Tyrians, though the great hopes they had conceived were thus frustrated, were no ways dejected. They only took the wise precaution of sending most of their women and children to Carthage, in order that they themselves might be in a condition to defend themselves to the last extremity, and bear more courageously the greatest calamities which might befall them, when they had once lodged, in a secure asylum, what they most valued in the world.

There was in the city a brazen statue of Apollo, of an enormous size. This Colossus had formerly stood in the city of Gela in Sicily. [i] The Carthaginians having taken it about the year 412 before Christ, had given it, by way of present, to the city of Tyre, which they always considered as the mother of Carthage. The Tyrians had set it up in their city, and worship was paid to it. During the siege, in consequence of a dream which one of the citizens had, the Tyrians imagined that Apollo was determined to leave them, and go over to Alexander. Immediately they fastened with a gold chain his statue to Hercules's altar, to prevent the deity from leaving them. For these people were silly enough to believe, that after his statue was thus fastened down,

[i] Diod. l. xiii. p. 226.

* See vol. I. in the history of Carthage.

it would not be possible for him to make his escape; and that he would be prevented from doing so by Hercules, the tutelar god of the city. What a strange idea the heathens had of their divinities!

Some of the Tyrians proposed the restoring of a sacrifice which had been discontinued for many ages; and this was, to sacrifice a child born of free parents to Saturn. The Carthaginians, who had borrowed this sacrilegious custom from their founders, preserved it till the destruction of their city; and had not the old men, who were invested with the greatest authority in Tyre, opposed the design, this cruelly superstitious custom would have prevailed over every sentiment of humanity.

The Tyrians, finding their city exposed every moment to be taken by storm, resolved to fall upon the Cyprian fleet, which lay at anchor on the side towards Sidon. They took the opportunity to do this at a time when the seamen of Alexander's fleet were dispersed up and down; and when he himself was withdrawn to his tent, pitched on the sea-shore. Accordingly they came out, about noon, with thirteen galleys, all manned with choice soldiers who were used to sea-fights; and rowing with all their might, came thundering on the enemy's vessels. Part of them they found empty, and the rest had been manned in great haste. Some of these they sunk, and drove several of them against the shores, where they were dashed to pieces. The loss would have been still greater, had not Alexander, the instant he heard of this sally, advanced at the head of his whole fleet with all imaginable dispatch against the Tyrians. However, these did not wait his coming up, but withdrew into the harbour, after having also lost some of their ships.

And now the engines playing, the city was warmly attacked on all sides, and as vigorously defended. The besieged, taught and animated by the imminent danger, and the extreme necessity to which they

were reduced, invented daily new arts to defend themselves, and repulse the enemy. They warded off all the darts discharged from the balistas against them by the assistance of turning-wheels, which either broke them to pieces, or carried them another way. They deadened the violence of the stones that were hurled at them, by setting up a kind of sails and curtains made of a soft substance, which easily gave way. To annoy the ships which advanced against their walls, they fixed cranes, grappling-irons, and sithes, to joists or beams; then straining their catapultas (an enormous kind of cross-bows), they laid those great pieces of timber upon them instead of arrows, and shot them off on a sudden at the enemy. These crushed some to pieces by their great weight; and the hooks or pensile sithes, with which they were armed, tore others to pieces, and did considerable damage to their ships. They also had brazen shields, which they drew red-hot out of the fire; and, filling these with burning sand, hurled them in a instant from the top of the wall upon the enemy. There was nothing the Macedonians so much dreaded as this last invention; for the moment this burning sand got to the flesh through the crevices in the armour, it pierced to the very bone, and stuck so close, that there was no pulling it off; so that the soldiers throwing down their arms, and tearing their clothes to pieces, were in this manner exposed, naked and defenceless, to the shot of the enemy.

It was then that Alexander, discouraged at so vigorous a defence, debated seriously, whether it would not be proper for him to raise the siege, and go into Egypt: for after having overrun Asia with prodigious rapidity, he found his progress unhappily retarded; and lost, before a single city, the opportunity of executing a great many projects of infinitely greater importance. On the other side, he considered that it would be a great blemish to his reputation, which had done him greater service than his

arms, should he leave Tyre behind him, as a proof to the world that he was not invincible. He therefore resolved to make a last effort with a greater number of ships, which he manned with the flower of his army. Accordingly, a second naval engagement was fought, in which the Tyrians, after fighting with intrepidity, were obliged to draw off their whole fleet towards the city. The king pursued their rear very close, but was not able to enter the harbour, being repulsed by arrows shot from the walls: however, he either took or sunk a great number of their ships.

Alexander, after letting his forces repose themselves two days, brought forward his fleet and his engines, in order to attempt a general assault. Both the attack and defence were now more vigorous than ever. The courage of the combatants increased with the danger; and each side, animated by the most powerful motives, fought like lions. Wherever the battering-rams had beat down any part of the wall, and the bridges were thrown out, instantly the Argyraspides mounted the breach with the utmost valour, being headed by Admetus, one of the bravest officers in the army, who was killed by the thrust of a *partisan, as he was encouraging his soldiers. The presence of the king, and especially the example he set, fired his troops with unusual bravery. He himself ascended one of the towers, which was of a prodigious height, and there was exposed to the greatest danger his courage had ever made him hazard: for, being immediately known by his *insignia* and the richness of his armour, he served as a mark for all the arrows of the enemy. On this occasion he performed wonders; killing, with javelins, several of those who defended the wall; then advancing nearer to them, he forced some with his sword, and others with his shield, either into the city or the sea; the tower where he fought almost touching the wall. He soon went over

* A kind of halbert.

it, by the assistance of floating bridges, and followed by the nobility, possessed himself of two towers, and the space between them. The battering-rams had already made several breaches; the fleet had forced the harbour; and some of the Macedonians had possessed themselves of the towers which were abandoned. The Tyrians, seeing the enemy master of their rampart, retired towards an open place, called the square of Agenor, and there stood their ground; but Alexander marching up with his regiment of body-guards, killed part of them, and obliged the rest to fly. At the same time, the city being taken on that side which lay towards the harbour, the Macedonians ran up and down in every quarter, sparing no person who came in their way, being highly exasperated at the long resistance of the besieged, and the barbarities they had exercised towards some of their comrades, who had been taken in their return from Sidon, and thrown from the battlements, after their throats had been cut in the sight of the whole army.

The Tyrians seeing themselves overpowered on all sides, some fly to the temples, to implore the assistance of the gods; others, shutting themselves in their houses, escape the sword of the conqueror by a voluntary death; others rush upon the enemy, firmly resolved to sell their lives at the dearest rate. Most of the citizens were got on the house-tops, whence they threw stones, and whatever came first to hand, upon such as advanced forward into the city. The king gave orders to kill all the inhabitants (those excepted who had sheltered themselves in the temples), and to set fire to every part of Tyre. Although this order was published by sound of trumpet, yet not one person who carried arms fled to the asylums. The temples were filled with such young women and children only as had remained in the city. The old men waited at the doors of their houses, in expectation every instant of being sacrificed to the rage of the

soldiers. It is true, indeed, that the Sidonian soldiers, who were in Alexander's camp, saved great numbers of them. For, having entered the city indiscriminately with the conquerors, and calling to mind their ancient affinity with the Tyrians (Agenor having founded both Tyre and Sidon), they carried off great numbers privately on board their ships, and conveyed them to Sidon. By this kind deceit fifteen thousand were saved from the rage of the conqueror; and we may judge of the greatness of the slaughter, from the number of the soldiers who were cut to pieces on the rampart of the city only, who amounted to six thousand. However, the king's anger not being fully appeased, he exhibited a scene, which appeared dreadful even to the conquerors; for, two thousand men remaining after the soldiers had been glutted with slaughter, Alexander caused them to be fixed upon crosses along the sea-shore. He pardoned the ambassadors of Carthage, who were come to their metropolis to offer up a sacrifice to Hercules according to annual custom. The number of prisoners, both foreigners and citizens, amounted to thirty thousand, who were all sold. As for the Macedonians, their loss was very inconsiderable.

A. M. 3672. Ant. J. C. 332. Alexander offered a sacrifice to Hercules, and conducted the ceremony with all his land forces under arms, in concert with the fleet. He also solemnized gymnastic exercises in honour of the same god, in the temple dedicated to him. With regard to the statue of Apollo, above-mentioned, he took off the chains from it, restored it to its former liberty, and commanded that this god should thenceforwards be adored under the name of *Philalexander*, that is, the friend of Alexander. If we may believe Timæus, the Greeks began to pay him this solemn worship, for having occasioned the taking of Tyre, which happened the day and hour that the Carthaginians had carried off this statue from Gela. The city of Tyre was taken

about the end of September, after having sustained a seven months' siege.

Thus were fully accomplished the menaces which God had pronounced by the mouth of his prophets against the city of Tyre. *Nabuchodonosor had begun to execute those threats, by besieging and taking it; and they were completed by the sad catastrophe we have here described. As this double event forms one of the most considerable passages in history, and as the Scriptures have given us several very remarkable circumstances of it, I shall endeavour to unite here, in one view, all that they relate concerning the city of Tyre, its power, riches, haughtiness, and irreligion; the different punishments with which God chastised its pride and other vices; and at length its last re-establishment, but in a manner entirely different from the former. Methinks I revive on a sudden, when, through the multitude of profane histories which heathen antiquity furnishes, and in every part whereof there reigns an entire oblivion, not to say more, of the Almighty, the sacred Scriptures exhibit themselves, and unfold to me the secret designs of God over kingdoms and empires; and teach me what idea we are to form of those things which appear the most worthy of esteem, the most august in the eyes of men.

But before I relate the prophecies concerning Tyre, I shall here present the reader with a little abstract of the history of that famous city, by which he will be the better enabled to understand the prophecies.

[k] Tyre was built by the Sidonians, two hundred and forty years before the building of the temple of Jerusalem: for this reason it is called by Isaiah, "The daughter of Sidon." It soon surpassed its mother-city in extent, power, and riches. A. M. 2752. Ant. J. C. 1252.

[k] Joseph. Antiq. l. viii. c. 3.

* Or Nebuchadnezzar, as he is called in our version.

A. M. 3285. Ant. J. C. 719. [l] It was besieged by Shalmanezer, and alone resisted the united fleets of the Assyrians and Phœnicians; a circumstance which greatly heightened its pride.

A. M. 3432. Ant. J. C. 572. [m] Nabuchodonosor laid siege to Tyre, at the time that Ithobalus was king of that city; but did not take it till thirteen years after. But before it was conquered, the inhabitants had retired, with most of their effects, into a neighbouring island, where they built a new city. The old one was raised to the very foundation, and has since been no more than a village, known by the name of "Palæ-Tyrus," or Ancient Tyre: but the new one rose to greater power than ever.

It was in this great and flourishing condition, when Alexander besieged and took it. And here begin the seventy years' obscurity and oblivion, in which it was to lie, according to Isaiah. It was indeed soon repaired, because the Sidonians, who entered the city with Alexander's army, saved fifteen thousand of their citizens (as was before observed), who, after their return, applied themselves to commerce, and repaired the ruins of their country with incredible application; besides which, the women and children, who had been sent to Carthage, and lodged in a place of safety, returned to it at the same time. But Tyre was confined to the island in which it stood. Its trade extended no farther than the neighbouring cities, and it had lost the empire of the sea. And when, eighteen years after, Antigonus besieged it with a strong fleet, we do not find that the Tyrians had any maritime forces to oppose him. This second siege, which reduced it a second time to captivity, plunged it again into the state of oblivion from which it endeavoured to extricate itself; and this oblivion continued the exact time foretold by Isaiah.

This term of years being expired, Tyre recovered

[l] Joseph. Antiq. l. ix. c. 14. [m] Ibid. l. x. c. 11.

its former credit; and, at the same time, resumed its former vices; till at last, converted by the preaching of the Gospel, it became a holy and religious city. The sacred writings acquaint us with part of these revolutions, and this is what we are now to show.

[n] Tyre, before the captivity of the Jews in Babylon, was considered as one of the most ancient and flourishing cities in the world. Its industry and very advantageous situation had raised it to the sovereignty of the seas, and made it the centre of the trade of the whole universe. From the extreme parts of Arabia, Persia, and India, to the most remote western coasts; from Scythia, and the northern regions, to Egypt, Ethiopia, and the southern countries; all nations contributed to the increase of its riches, splendour, and power. Not only the several things useful and necessary to society, which those various regions produced; but whatever they had that was rare, curious, magnificent, or precious, and best adapted to the support of luxury and pride; all these were brought to its markets. And Tyre, on the other side, as from a common source, dispersed this varied abundance over all kingdoms, and infected them with its corrupt manners, by inspiring them with a love for ease, vanity, luxury, and voluptuousness.

[o] A long, uninterrupted series of prosperity had swelled the pride of Tyre. She delighted to consider herself as the queen of cities; a queen whose head is adorned with a diadem; whose correspondents are illustrious princes; whose rich traders dispute for superiority with kings: who sees every maritime power, either her allies or dependents; and who has made herself necessary or formidable to all nations.

Tyre had now filled up the measure of her iniquity, by her impiety against God, and her barba

[n] Ezek. xxvi. & xxvii. throughout. Ezek. xxvii. 4—25.
[o] Ezek. xxvi. 17. xxvii. 3, 4, 25—32, 33.

rity exercised against his people. She had rejoiced over the ruins of Jerusalem, exclaiming in an insulting tone: [p] "Behold then the gates of this so populous city are broken down. Her inhabitants shall come to me, and I will enrich myself with her spoils, now she is laid waste." [q] She was not satisfied with having reduced the Jews to a state of captivity, notwithstanding the alliance between them; with selling them to the Gentiles, and delivering them up to their most cruel enemies: [r] she likewise had seized upon the inheritance of the Lord, and carried away from his temple the most precious things, to enrich therewith the temples of her idols.

[s] This profanation and cruelty drew down the vengeance of God upon Tyre. God is resolved to destroy her, because she relied so much upon her own strength, her wisdom, her riches, and her alliances. He therefore will bring against her Nabuchodonosor, that king of kings, to overwhelm her with his mighty hosts, as with waters that overspread their banks, to demolish her ramparts, to ruin her proud palaces, to deliver up her merchandise and treasures to the soldier, and to raze Tyre to the very foundations, after having set fire to it, and either extirpated or dispersed all its inhabitants.

[t] By this so unexpected a fall, the Almighty will teach the astonished nations, that he more evidently displays his providence by the most incredible revolutions of states; and that his will alone directs the enterprises of men, and guides them as he pleases, in order to humble the proud.

But Tyre, after she had recovered her losses and repaired her ruins, forgot her former state of humiliation, and the guilt which had reduced her to it.

[p] Ezek. xxvii. 2. [q] Joel iii. 2—8. Amos i. 9, 10.
[r] Joel iii. 2, 4, 7. Amos i. 9, 10.
[s] Jerem. xlvii. 2, 6. Ezek. xxvi. 3—12, & 19. xxvii. 27, 34.
[t] Ezek. xxvi. 15, 18, & xxvii. 33, 36. Isa. xxiii. 8, 9.

[u]She still was puffed up with the glory of possessing the empire of the sea; of being the seat of universal commerce; of giving birth to the most famous colonies; of having within her walls merchants, whose credit, riches, and splendour, rendered them equal to the princes and great men of the earth; [x]of being governed by a monarch, who might justly be entitled god of the sea; of tracing back her origin to the most remote antiquity; of having acquired, by a long series of ages, a kind of eternity; and of having a right to promise herself another such eternity in times to come.

[y]But since this city, corrupted by pride, by avarice and luxury, has not profited by the first lesson which God had given her by the hands of the king of Babylon; and since, after being oppressed by all the forces of the East, she has not yet learned not to confide any longer in the false and imaginary support of her own greatness: [z]God foretells her another chastisement, which he will send upon her from the West, near 400 years after the first. [a]Her destruction will come from Chittim, that is, Macedonia; from a kingdom so weak and obscure, that it had been despised a few years before; a kingdom whence she could never have expected such a blow. "Tyre, possessed with an opinion of her own wisdom, and proud of her fleets, of her immense riches, which she heaped up as mire in the streets," and also protected by the whole power of the Persian empire, does not imagine she has any thing to fear from those new enemies, who, being situated at a great distance from her, without either money, strength, or reputation; having neither harbours nor ships, and being quite unskilled in navigation; cannot therefore, as she imagines, annoy her with their land forces. [b]Tyre looks upon herself as

[u] Isa. xxiii. 3; 4, 7, 8, 12.
[x] Ezek. xxviii. 2.
[y] Isa. xxiii. 13.
[z] Ibid. ver. 11, 12, 13.
[a] 1 Maccab. i. 1. Zech. ix. 2, 5.
[b] Isa. xxiii. 10, 11, 12.

impregnable, because she is defended by lofty fortifications, and surrounded on all sides by the sea as with a moat and a girdle: nevertheless Alexander, by filling up the arm of the sea which separates her from the continent, will force off her girdle, and demolish those ramparts which served her as a second enclosure.

Tyre, thus dispossessed of her dignity as queen and as a free city, boasting no more her diadem nor her girdle, will be reduced, during seventy years, to the mean condition of a slave. [c] "The Lord hath purposed it, to stain the pride of all glory, and to bring into contempt all the honourable of the earth." [d] Her fall will drag after it the ruin of trade in general; and she will prove to all maritime cities a subject of sorrow and lamentation, by making them lose the present means and the future hopes of enriching themselves.

[e] To prove, in a sensible manner, to Tyre, that the prophecy concerning her ruin is not incredible, and that all the strength and wisdom of man can no ways ward off or suspend the punishment which God has prepared for the pride and the abuse of riches, Isaiah sets before her the example of Babylon, whose destruction ought to have been a lesson to her. *This city, in which Nimrod laid the foundations of his empire, was the most ancient, the most populous, and embellished with more edifices, both public and private, than any other city. She was the capital of the first empire that ever existed, and was founded in order to command over the whole earth, which seemed to be inhabited only by families which she had brought forth and sent out as so many colonies, whose common parent

[c] Isa. xxiii. 9. [d] Ibid. ver. 1, 11, 14. [e] Ibid. ver. 13, 14.

* Behold the land of the Chaldæans; this people was not till the Assyrians founded it for them that dwell in the wilderness: they set up the towers thereof, they raised up the palaces thereof; and he brought it to ruin. Howl, ye ships of Tarshish: for your strength is laid waste. Isa. xxiii. 13, 14.

she was. Nevertheless, says the prophet, she is no more, neither Babylon nor her empire. The citizens of Babylon had multiplied their ramparts and citadels, to render even the besieging it impracticable. The inhabitants had raised pompous palaces, to make their names immortal; but all these fortifications were but as so many dens, in the eyes of Providence, for wild beasts to dwell in; and these edifices were doomed to fall to dust, or else to sink to humble cottages.

After so signal an example, continues the prophet, shall Tyre, which is so much inferior to Babylon in many respects, dare to hope that the menaces pronounced by Heaven against her, *viz.* to deprive her of the empire of the sea, and destroy her fleets, will not be fulfilled?

[f] To make her the more strongly sensible how much she has abused her prosperity, God will reduce her to a state of humiliation and oblivion during threescore and ten years. [g] But after this season of obscurity, she will again endeavour to appear with the air of an harlot, full of charms and artifices, whose sole endeavours are to corrupt youth, and soothe their passions. To promote her commerce, she will use fraud, deceit, and the most insidious arts. She will visit every part of the world, to collect the most rare and most delicious products of every country; to inspire the various nations of the universe with a love and admiration for superfluities and splendour, and fill them with an aversion for the simplicity and frugality of their ancient manners. And she will set every engine at work, to renew her ancient treaties; to recover the confidence of her former correspondents; and to compensate, by a speedy abundance, the sterility of seventy years.

[h] Thus, in proportion as the Almighty shall give

[f] Isa. xxiii. 15. [g] Ibid. ver. 16. [h] Ibid. ver. 17.

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Tyre an opportunity of recovering her trade and credit, she will return to her former shameful traffic, which God had ruined, by stripping her of the great possessions which she had applied to such pernicious uses.

[i] But at last, Tyre, converted by the Gospel, shall no more be a scandal and a stumbling-block to nations. She shall no longer sacrifice her labour to the idolatry of wealth, but to the worship of the Lord, and the comfort of those that serve him. She shall no longer render her riches barren and useless by detaining them, but shall scatter them, like fruitful seed, from the hands of believers and ministers of the Gospel.

One of God's designs, in the prophecies just now cited, is to give us a just idea of a traffic, whose only motive is avarice, and whose fruits are pleasures, vanity, and the corruption of morals. Mankind look upon cities enriched by a commerce like that of Tyre (and it is the same with private persons), as happier than any other; as worthy of envy, and as fit, (from their industry, labour, and the success of their application and conduct,) to be proposed as patterns for the rest to copy after: but God, on the contrary, exhibits them to us under the shameful image of a woman lost to all sense of virtue; whose only view is to seduce and corrupt youth; who only soothes the passions and flatters the senses; who abhors modesty and every sentiment of honour; and who, banishing from her countenance every indication of shame, glories in her ignominy. We are not to infer from hence, that traffic is sinful in itself; but we should separate from the essential foundation of trade, which is just and lawful when rightly used, the passions of men which intermix with, and by that means pervert the order and end of it. Tyre, converted to Christianity, teaches

[i] Isa. xxiii. 18.

merchants in what manner they are to carry on their traffic, and the uses to which they ought to apply their profits.

SECT. VII. *Darius writes a second letter to Alexander. Journey of the latter to Jerusalem. The honour which he pays to Jaddus the high-priest. He is shown those prophecies of Daniel which relate to himself. The king grants great privileges to the Jews, but refuses them to the Samaritans. He besieges and takes Gaza, enters Egypt, and subdues that country. He there lays the foundations of Alexandria, then goes into Libya, where he visits the temple of Jupiter Ammon, and causes himself to be declared the son of that god. His return into Egypt.*

[k] WHILST Alexander was carrying on the siege of Tyre, he had received a second letter from Darius, who at last gave him the title of king. "He offered him ten thousand talents (about one million five hundred thousand pounds) as a ransom for the captive princesses, and his daughter Statira in marriage, with all the country he had conquered as far as the Euphrates. Darius hinted to him the inconstancy of fortune; and described, in the most pompous terms, the numberless troops who were still under his command. Could he (Alexander) think that it was so very easy to cross the Euphrates, the Tigris, the Araxes, and the Hydaspes, which were as so many bulwarks to the Persian empire? That he should not be always shut up between rocks and defiles: that they ought both to appear in an open plain, and that then Alexander would be ashamed to come before him with only a handful of men." The

[k] Plut. in Alex. p. 681. Quint. Curt. l. iv. c. 5. Arrian. l. ii. p. 101.

king hereupon summoned a council, in which Parmenio was of opinion, that he ought to accept of those offers, declaring he himself would agree to them, were he Alexander. "And so would I," replied Alexander, "were I Parmenio." He therefore returned the following answer: "That he did "not want the money Darius offered him: that it "did not become Darius to offer a thing he no "longer possessed, or to pretend to share what he "had entirely lost: that in case he was the only "person who did not know which of them was su-"perior, a battle would soon determine it: that "he should not think to intimidate with rivers, a "man who had crossed so many seas: that to "whatsoever place he might find it proper to retire, "Alexander would not fail to find him out." Darius, upon receiving this answer, lost all hopes of an accommodation, and prepared again for war.

[l] From Tyre Alexander marched to Jerusalem, firmly resolved to show it no more favour than he had done the former city; and for this reason. The Tyrians were so much employed in trade, that they quite neglected husbandry, and brought most of their corn and other provisions from the countries in their neighbourhood. [m] Galilee, Samaria, and Judea, furnished them with the greatest quantities. At the time that Alexander laid siege to their city, he himself was obliged to send for provisions from those countries: he therefore sent commissaries to summon the inhabitants to submit, and furnish his army with whatever they might want. The Jews, however desired to be excused, alleging, that they had taken an oath of fidelity to Darius; and persisted in answering that they would never acknowledge any other sovereign as long as he was living: a rare example of fidelity, and worthy of the only people who in that age acknowledged the true God! The Samaritans, however, did not imitate them in

[l] Joseph. Antiq. l. xi. c. 8. [m] Acts xii. 20.

this particular; for they submitted with cheerfulness to Alexander, and even sent him eight thousand men to serve at the siege of Tyre, and in other places. For the better understanding of what follows, it may be necessary for us to present the reader, in few words, with the state of the Samaritans at that time, and the cause of the strong antipathy which existed between them and the Jews.

I observed,* elsewhere, that the Samaritans did not descend from the Israelites, but were a colony of idolaters, taken from the countries on the other side of the Euphrates, whom Esaraddon, king of the Assyrians, had sent to inhabit the cities of Samaria, after the ruin of the kingdom of the ten tribes. These people, who were called *Cuthæi*, blended the worship of the God of Israel with that of their idols; and on all occasions discovered an enmity to the Jews. This hatred was much stronger after the return of the Jews from the Babylonish captivity, before and after the restoration of the temple.

Notwithstanding the reformation which the holy man, Nehemiah, had wrought in Jerusalem, with regard to the marrying of strange or foreign women, the evil had spread so far, that the high-priest's house, which ought to have been pure more than any other from these criminal mixtures, was itself polluted with them. [n] One of the sons of Jehoiada the high-priest, whom Josephus calls Manasseh, had married the daughter of Sanballat the Horonite; and many more had followed his example. But Nehemiah, zealous for the law of God which was so shamefully violated, commanded, without exception, all who had married strange women, either to put them away immediately, or to depart the country. [o] Manasseh chose to go into banishment rather than separate himself from

[n] Neh. xiii. 28. [o] Joseph. Antiquit.

* Vol. II. History of the *Assyrians*.

his wife, and accordingly withdrew to Samaria, whither he was followed by great numbers as obstinate in rebellion as himself; he there settled them under the protection of Sanballat, his father-in-law, who was governor of that country.

The latter obtained of Darius Nothus (whom probably the war which broke out between Egypt and Persia had brought into Phœnicia), leave to build on mount Gerizim, near Samaria, a temple like that of Jerusalem, and to appoint Manasseh, his son-in-law, priest thereof. From that time, Samaria became the asylum of all the malcontents of Judea. And it was this which raised the hatred of the Jews against the Samaritans to its greatest height, when they saw that the latter, notwithstanding the express prohibition of the law, which fixed the solemn worship of the God of Israel in the city of Jerusalem, had nevertheless raised altar against altar, and temple against temple, and afforded a refuge to all who fled from Jerusalem, to screen themselves from the punishment which would have been inflicted on them for violating the law.

Such was the state of Judea, when Alexander laid siege to Tyre. The Samaritans, as we before observed, sent him a considerable body of troops; whereas the Jews thought they could not submit to him, as long as Darius, to whom they had taken an oath of allegiance, should be alive.

Alexander, being little used to such an answer, particularly after he had obtained so many victories, and thinking that all things ought to bow before him, resolved, the instant he had conquered Tyre, to march against the Jews, and punish their disobedience as rigorously as he had punished that of the Tyrians.

In this imminent danger, Jaddus, the high-priest, who governed under the Persians, seeing himself exposed, with all the inhabitants, to the wrath of the conqueror, had recourse to the protection of the

Almighty, gave orders that public prayers should be made to implore his assistance, and offered sacrifices. The night after, God appeared to him in a dream, and bid him, "To cause flowers to be "scattered up and down the city; to set open all "the gates, and go, clothed in his pontifical robes, "with all the priests, dressed also in their vest-"ments, and all the rest clothed in white, to meet "Alexander, and not to fear any evil from that "king, inasmuch as He would protect them." This command was punctually obeyed; and accordingly this august procession, the very day after, marched out of the city to an eminence called * *Sapha*, whence there was a view of all the plain, as well as of the temple and city of Jerusalem. Here the whole procession waited the arrival of Alexander.

The Syrians and Phœnicians, who were in his army, were persuaded that the wrath of this prince was so great, that he would certainly punish the high-priest in an exemplary manner, and destroy that city in the same manner as he had done Tyre; and flushed with joy on that account, they waited in expectation of glutting their eyes with the calamities of a people to whom they bore a mortal hatred. As soon as the Jews heard of the king's approach, they set out to meet him with all the pomp before described. Alexander was struck at the sight of the high-priest, in whose mitre and forehead a golden plate was fixed, on which the name of God was written. The moment the king perceived the high-priest, he advanced toward him with an air of the most profound respect; bowed his body, adored the august name upon his front, and saluted him who wore it with a religious veneration. Then the Jews surrounding Alexander, raised their voices to wish him every kind of prosperity. All the spectators were seized with inexpressible surprise; they could scarce believe their eyes, and did

* The Hebrew word *Sapha* signifies to discover from far, as from a tower or sentry-box.

not know how to account for a sight so contrary to their expectation, and so very improbable.

Parmenio, who could not yet recover from his astonishment, asked the king how it came to pass that he, who was adored by every one, adored the high priest of the Jews. "I do not (replied Alex-"ander) adore the high-priest, but the God whose "minister he is; for whilst I was at Dium in Ma-"cedonia (my mind wholly fixed on the great de-"sign of the Persian war), as I was revolving by "what means I should conquer Asia, this very man, "dressed in the same robes, appeared to me in a "dream; exhorted me to banish every fear, bid me "cross the Hellespont boldly; and assured me that "his God would march at the head of my army, "and give me the victory over that of the Persians." Alexander added, that the instant he saw this priest, he knew him by his habit, his stature, his air, and his face, to be the same person whom he had seen at Dium; that he was firmly persuaded, it was by the command, and under the immediate conduct of Heaven that he had undertaken this war; that he was sure he should overcome Darius hereafter, and destroy the empire of the Persians; and that this was the reason why he adored this God in the person of his priest. Alexander, after having thus answered Parmenio, embraced the high-priest, and all his brethren; then walking in the midst of them, he arrived at Jerusalem, where he offered sacrifices to God, in the temple, after the manner prescribed to him by the high-priest.

The high-priest, afterwards, showed him those passages in the prophecy of Daniel, which are spoken of that monarch. I shall here give an abstract of them, which will plainly show how the most distant events are present to the Almighty.

[p] God declares by the prophet Daniel, that grandeur, empire, and glory, are his; that he bestows

[p] Dan. ii. 20, 21, 37.

them on whomsoever he pleases, and withdraws them in like manner, to punish the abuse of them; that his wisdom and power solely determine the course of events in all ages; [q] that he changes, according to his will, the whole face of human affairs; that he sets up new kingdoms, overthrows the ancient ones, and effaces even the very footsteps of them, with the same ease as the wind carries off the smallest chaff from the threshing-floor.

[r] God's design, in subjecting states to such astonishing revolutions, is to teach men, that they are in his presence as nothing; that he alone is the most High, the eternal King, the sovereign arbiter, who doth whatsoever he will, with supreme power, both in heaven and earth. [s] For the putting this design in execution, the prophet sees an august council, in which the angels who are appointed as inspectors and guardians of governments and kings, enquire into the use which they make of the authority that Heaven intrusted them with, as his ministers; and when they abuse it, these * spirits, zealous for the glory of their sovereign, beseech God to punish their injustice and ingratitude; and to humble their pride, by casting them from the throne, and causing the most abject among mankind, to ascend it in their stead.

[t] God, to make these important truths still more sensible, shows Daniel four dreadful beasts who rise from a vast sea, in which the four winds combat together with fury; and under these symbols, he represents to the prophet the origin, the characteristics, and fall of the four great empires, which are to govern the whole world successively. A dread-

[q] Dan. ii. 35. [r] Ibid. iv. 32, 34, 35, 36. [s] Ibid. ver. 14. [t] Ibid. vii. 2, 3.

* It was at the desire of these angels, that Nebuchadnezzar was driven from the society of men to herd with wild beasts.

ful, but too real image! For empires rise out of tumult and confusion; they subsist by blood and slaughter; they exercise their power with violence and cruelty; they think it glorious to carry terror and desolation into all places; but yet in spite of their utmost efforts, they are subject to continual vicissitudes and unforeseen reverses of fortune.

[u] The prophet then relates more particularly the character of each of these empires. After having represented the empire of the Babylonians under the image of a lioness, and that of the Medes and Persians under the form of a bear greedy of prey, he draws the picture of the Grecian monarchy, by presenting us with some of its most striking features. Under the image of a spotted leopard, with four heads and four wings, he depicts Alexander, in whom good and bad qualities were intermixed; rash and impetuous in his resolutions, rapid in his conquests; flying with the swiftness of a bird of prey, rather than marching with the weight of an army laden with the whole equipage of war; supported by the valour and capacity of his generals, four of whom, after having assisted him in conquering his empire, divide it among themselves.

[x] To this picture the prophet adds elsewhere new touches. He enumerates the order of the succession of the kings of Persia; he declares, in precise terms, that after the first three kings, viz. Cyrus, Cambyses, and Darius, a fourth monarch will arise, who is Xerxes; and that he will exceed all his predecessors in power and in riches; that this prince, puffed up with the idea of his own grandeur, which shall have risen to its highest pitch, will assemble all the people in his boundless dominions, and lead them to the conquest of Greece. But as the prophet takes notice only of the march of this multitude, and does not tell us what success they met

[u] Dan. vii. ver. 4, 5, 6. [x] Ibid. xi. 2.

with, he thereby gives us pretty clearly to understand, that Xerxes, an effeminate, injudicious, and fearful prince, will not have the least success in any of his vast projects.

[y] On the contrary, from among these very Greeks, attacked unsuccessfully by the Persians, there will arise a king very different from Xerxes; and this is Alexander the Great. He shall be a bold, valiant monarch; he shall succeed in all his enterprises; he shall extend his dominion far and wide, and shall establish an irresistible power on the ruins of the vanquished nations: but at a time when he shall imagine himself to be most firmly seated on the throne, he shall lose his life, with the regal dignity, and not leave any posterity to succeed him in it. This new monarchy, losing on a sudden the splendour and power for which it was so renowned under Alexander, shall divide itself towards the four winds of heaven. From its ruins there shall arise not only the four great kingdoms of Egypt, Syria, Asia Minor, and Macedon, but also several other foreigners, or barbarians, shall usurp its provinces, and form kingdoms out of these.

[z] At length, in the eighth chapter, the prophet completes the description in still stronger colours, of the character, the battles, the series of successes, the rise and fall of these two rival empires. By the image he gives of a powerful ram, having two horns of an unequal length, he declares that the first of these empires shall be composed of Persians and Medes; that its strength shall consist in the union of these two nations; that the Persians shall nevertheless exceed the Medes in authority; that they shall have a series of conquests, without meeting with any opposition; that they shall first extend them towards the west, by subduing the Lydians, the provinces of Asia Minor and Thrace; that

[y] Dan. xi. 3, 4. [z] Ibid. viii.

they shall afterwards turn their arms towards the north, in order to subdue part of Scythia, and the nations bordering on the Caspian sea; that at length they shall endeavour to enlarge their dominions towards the south, by subjecting Egypt, and Arabia, but that they shall not invade the nations of the east.

The monarchy of the Greeks is afterwards exhibited to Daniel, under the symbol of a he-goat of prodigious size: he perceives that the Macedonian army will march from the west, in order to invade the empire of the Persians; that it will be headed by a warrior famous for his power and glory; that it will make immense marches, in quest of the enemy, even into the very heart of his dominions; that it will advance towards the enemy with such rapidity, as to seem not to touch the ground; that it will give this empire its mortal wound; entirely subvert it by repeated victories, and destroy the double power of the Persians and Medes; during which not one monarch, whether its ally or neighbour, shall give it the least succour.

But as soon as this monarchy shall have risen to its greatest height, Alexander who formed its greatest strength, shall be snatched from it; and then there will arise, towards the four parts of the world, four Grecian monarchies, which, though vastly inferior to that of Alexander, will, however, be very considerable.

Can any thing be more wonderful, more divine, than a series of prophecies, all of them so clear, so exact, and so circumstantial; prophecies which go so far as to point out, that a prince shall die without leaving a single successor from among his own family, and that four of his generals will divide his empire between them? But we must peruse these prophecies in the Scriptures themselves. The Vulgate agrees pretty nearly with the Hebrew,

except in a few places, which I shall translate, *agreeable to the original text.

[a] "In the third year of the reign of king Belshazzar, a vision appeared unto me, *even unto* me Daniel, after that which appeared unto me at the first. And I saw in a vision (and it came to pass, when I saw, that I *was* at Shushan *in* the palace, which *is* in the province of Elam), and I saw in a vision, and I was by the river of Ulai. Then I lifted up mine eyes, and saw, and behold there stood before the river a RAM, which had *two* horns: and the *two* horns *were* high; but one *was* higher than the other, and the higher came up last. I saw the ram pushing westward, and northward, and southward; so that no beast might stand before him, neither *was there any* that could deliver out of his hand; but he did according to his will, and became great. And as I was considering, behold, an he-goat came from the west, on the face of the whole earth, and touched not the ground; and the goat *had* a notable horn between his eyes. And he came to the ram that had *two* horns, which I had seen standing before the river, and ran unto him in the fury of his power. And I saw him come close unto the ram, and he was moved with choler against him, and smote the ram, and brake his two horns: and there was no power in the ram to stand before him, but he cast him down to the ground, and stamped upon him; and there was none that could deliver the ram out of his hand. Therefore the he-goat waxed very great: and when he was strong, the great horn was broken; and for it came up four notable ones towards the four winds of heaven."

A great number of very important reflections might be made on the prophecies I have now re-

[a] Dan. viii. 1—8.

* We have not followed M. Rollin's translation here, believing it more proper to make use of our own version of the Bible.

peated; but these I shall leave to the reader's understanding and religion, and will make but one remark; on which however I shall not expatiate so much as the subject might deserve.

The Almighty presides in general over all events which happen in the world; and rules, with absolute sway, the fate of all men in particular, of all cities, and of all empires; but he conceals the operations of his wisdom, and the wonders of his providence, beneath the veil of natural causes and ordinary events. In all that profane history exhibits to us, whether sieges, or the capture of cities; battles won or lost, empires established or overthrown; there appears nothing but what is human and natural: God seems to have no concern in these things, and we should be tempted to believe that he abandons men entirely to their views, their talents, and their passions; if we, perhaps, except the Jewish nation, whom he considered as his own peculiar people, and as his own heritage.

To prevent our falling into a tempation so repugnant to religion and even reason itself, God occasionally breaks silence, disperses the clouds which hide him, and condescends to discover to us the secret springs of his providence, by causing his prophets to foretel, long before the event, the fate he has prepared for the different nations of the earth. He reveals to Daniel the order, the succession, and the different characteristics of the four great empires to which he has determined to subject all the nations of the universe, *viz.* that of the Babylonians, of the Persians and Medes, of the Greeks, and, lastly, that of the Romans.

It is with the same view that he dwells very forcibly on the two most famous conquerors that ever existed; I mean Cyrus and Alexander, the one the founder, the other the destroyer, of the powerful empire of Persia. He causes the former to be called by his name two hundred years before his birth; foretels, by the mouth of Isaiah, his victories; and

particularises the several circumstances of the taking of Babylon, the like of which had never been seen before. On this occasion, he points out Alexander, by the mouth of Daniel, and ascribes such qualities and characteristics as can agree with none but him, and which denote him as plainly as if he had called him by his name.

These passages of Scripture, in which God explains himself clearly, should be considered as very precious; and serve as so many keys to open to our understanding the secret methods by which he governs the world. These bright rays of light should enable a rational and religious man to see every thing else clearly; and make him conclude, from what is said of the four great empires, of Cyrus and Alexander, of Babylon and Tyre, that we ought to acknowledge and admire, in the several events of profane history, God's perpetual care and regard for all men and all states, whose destiny depends entirely on his wisdom, his power, and his pleasure.

We may easily figure to ourselves the great joy and admiration with which Alexander was filled, upon hearing such clear, such circumstantial, and advantageous promises. Before he left Jerusalem, he assembled the Jews, and bid them ask any favour whatsoever. They answered, that their request was to be allowed to live according to the law of their fathers, and to be exempt, every seventh year, from their usual tribute; and for this reason, because they were forbidden, by their laws, in that year, to sow their fields, and consequently could have no harvest. Alexander granted their request; and, upon the high-priest's beseeching him to suffer the Jews, who were resident in Babylonia and Media, to live likewise agreeable to their own laws, he also indulged them in this particular with the utmost humanity; and said further, that in case any of them were willing to serve under his standards, he would give them leave to follow their own way of worship,

and to observe their peculiar customs; upon which offer great numbers enlisted themselves.

He had scarce left Jerusalem, when the Samaritans waited upon him with great pomp and ceremony, humbly entreating him to do them also the honour to visit their temple. As they had submitted voluntarily to Alexander, and sent him succours, they imagined that they deserved his favour much more than the Jews; and flattered themselves that they should obtain the same, and even much greater indulgence. It was in this view they made this pompous procession, in order to invite Alexander to their city; and the eight thousand men they had sent to serve under him, joined in the request made by their countrymen. Alexander thanked them courteously, but said, that he was obliged to march into Egypt, and therefore had no time to lose; however, that he would visit their city at his return, in case he had opportunity. They then besought him to exempt them from paying tribute every seventh year; upon which Alexander asked them, whether they were Jews? They made an ambiguous answer, which the king not having time to examine, suspended this matter also till his return, and immediately continued his march towards Gaza.

[b] Upon his arrival before that city, he found it provided with a strong garrison, commanded by Betis, one of Darius's eunuchs. This governor, who was a brave man, and very faithful to his sovereign, defended it with great vigour against Alexander. As this was the only inlet or pass into Egypt, it was absolutely necessary for him to conquer it, and therefore he was obliged to besiege it. But although every art of war was employed, notwithstanding his soldiers fought with the utmost intrepidity, he was however forced to lie two months

[b] Diod. l. xvii. p. 526. Arrian. l. ii. p. 101—103. Quint. Curt. l. iv. c. 6. Plut. in Alex. p. 679.

before it. Exasperated at its holding out so long, and his receiving two wounds, he was resolved to treat the governor, the inhabitants, and soldiers, with a barbarity absolutely inexcusable; for he cut ten thousand men to pieces, and sold all the rest, with their wives and children, for slaves. When Betis, who had been taken prisoner in the last assault, was brought before him covered with honourable wounds, instead of using him kindly, as his valour and fidelity justly merited, this young monarch, who at other times esteemed bravery even in an enemy, fired on this occasion with an insolent joy, spoke thus to him: "Betis, thou shalt not die the death thou desiredst. Prepare therefore to suffer all those torments which vengeance can invent." Betis, looking upon the king with not only a firm, but an haughty air, did not make the least reply to his menaces; upon which the king, more enraged by this disdainful silence—"Observe," said he, "I beseech you, that dumb arrogance. Has he bended the knee? Has he spoke so much as one submissive word? But I will conquer this obstinate silence, and will force groans from him, if I can draw nothing else." At last Alexander's *anger rose to fury; his conduct now beginning to change with his fortune: he ordered a hole to be made through his heels, when, a rope being put through them, and tied to a chariot, he caused Betis to be dragged round the city till he died. He boasted his having imitated on this occasion, Achilles, from whom he was descended; who, as Homer relates, caused the dead body of Hector to be dragged in the same manner round the walls of Troy;† as if a man ought ever to pride himself on having imitated a bad example. Both were very barbarous; but Alexander was much more so in causing Betis

* *Iram deinde vertit in rabiem, jam tum peregrinos ritus novâ subeunte fortunâ.* QUINT. CURT.

† *Decipit exemplar vitiis imitabile.* HORAT.

to be dragged alive; and for no other reason, but because he had served his sovereign with bravery and fidelity, by defending a city with which he had intrusted him; a fidelity, that ought to have been admired, and even rewarded, by an enemy, rather than punished in so cruel a manner.

He sent the greatest part of the plunder he found in Gaza to his mother Olympias, to Cleopatra his sister, and to his friends. He also presented Leonidas, his preceptor, with five hundred quintals* of frankincence, and a hundred quintals of myrrh; calling to mind a caution Leonidas had given him when but a child, and which seemed, even at that time, to presage the conquests this monarch had lately achieved. For Leonidas, observing Alexander taking up whole handfuls of incense at a sacrifice, and throw it into the fire, said to him; "Alexander, when you shall have conquered the country which produces these spices, you then may be as profuse of incense as you please, but, till that day comes, be sparing of what you have." The monarch therefore writ to Leonidas as follows: "I send you a large quantity of incense and myrrh, in order that you may no longer be so reserved and sparing in your sacrifices to the gods."

A. M. 3673. Ant. J. C. 331. [c] As soon as Alexander had ended the siege of Gaza, he left a garrison there, and turned the whole power of his arms towards Egypt. In seven days' march he arrived before Pelusium, whither a great number of Egyptians had assembled, with all imaginable diligence, to recognize him for their sovereign, and make their submission.

The hatred these people bore to the Persians was so great, that it was of little consequence to them who should be their king, provided they could but

[c] Diod. l. xvii. p. 526—529. Arrian. l. iii. p. 104—110. Plut. in Alex. p. 679—681. Quint. Curt. l. iv. c. 7 & 8. Justin. l. ix. c. 11.

* A quintal is a hundred pounds' weight.

meet with an avenger who would rescue them from the insolence and indignity with which themselves and their religion were treated. For, how false soever a religion may be (and it is scarce possible to imagine one more absurd than that of the Egyptians), so long as it continues to be the established religion, the people will not suffer it to be insulted; nothing affecting their minds so strongly, nor inflaming them to a greater degree. Ochus had caused their god Apis to be murdered, in a manner highly offensive to themselves and their religion; and the Persians, to whom he had left the government, continued in like manner to ridicule that deity. Thus several circumstances had rendered the Persians so odious, that, upon Amyntas's coming a little before with a handful of men, he found them prepared to join and assist him in expelling the Persians.

This Amyntas had deserted from Alexander, and entered into the service of Darius. He had commanded the Grecian forces at the battle of Issus; and having escaped into Syria, by the way of Tripoli, with four thousand men, he had there seized upon as many vessels as he wanted, burnt the rest, and immediately set sail towards the island of Cyprus, and afterwards towards Pelusium, which he took by surprise, upon feigning that he had a commission from Darius, appointing him governor of Egypt, in the room of Sabaces, killed in the battle of Issus. As soon as he found himself possessed of this important city, he threw off the mask, and made public pretensions to the crown of Egypt; declaring, that the motive of his coming was to expel the Persians. Upon this a multitude of Egyptians, who wished for nothing so earnestly as to free themselves from these insupportable tyrants, went over to him. He then marched directly for Memphis, the capital of the kingdom; when, coming to a battle, he defeated

the Persians, and shut them up in the city. But, after he had gained this victory, having neglected to keep his soldiers together, they straggled up and down in search of plunder; which the enemy seeing, sallied out upon such as remained, and cut them to pieces, with Amyntas their leader.

This event, so far from lessening the aversion the Egyptians had for the Persians, increased it still more; so that the moment Alexander appeared upon the frontiers, the people, who were all disposed to receive that monarch, ran in crowds to submit to him. His arrival, at the head of a powerful army, presented them with a secure protection, which Amyntas could not afford them; and, from this consideration, they all declared openly in his favour. Mazæus, who commanded in Memphis, finding it would be to no purpose for him to resist so great a force, and that Darius, his sovereign, was not in a condition to succour him, set open the gates of the city to the conqueror, and gave up eight hundred talents, about one hundred and twenty thousand pounds, and all the king's furniture. Thus Alexander possessed himself of all Egypt, without meeting with the least opposition.

At Memphis he formed a design of visiting the temple of Jupiter-Ammon. [d] This temple was situated in the midst of the sandy deserts of Libya, and twelve days' journey from Memphis. Ham, the son of Noah, first peopled Egypt and Libya, after the flood; and when idolatry began to gain ground in the world some time after, he was the chief deity of these two countries, in which his descendants had continued. A temple was built to his honour in the midst of these deserts, upon a spot of pretty good ground, about two leagues broad,[e] which formed a kind of island in a sea of

[d] Plin. lib. v. c. 9. [e] Forty furlongs.

sand. It is he whom the Greeks call Ζεὺς, *Jupiter*,* and the Egyptians *Ammon*. In process of time these two names were joined, and he was called *Jupiter-Ammon*.

The motive of this journey, which was equally rash and dangerous, was owing to a ridiculous vanity. Alexander having read in Homer, and other fabulous authors of antiquity, that most of their heroes were represented as sons of some deity; and, as he himself was desirous of passing for a hero, he was determined to have some god for his father. Accordingly, he fixed upon Jupiter-Ammon for this purpose, and began by bribing the priests, and teaching them the part they were to act.

It would have been to no purpose, had any one endeavoured to divert him from a design which was great in no other circumstance than the pride and extravagance that gave birth to it. Puffed up with his victories, he had already begun to assume, as Plutarch observes, that character of tenaciousness and inflexibility which will do nothing but command; which cannot suffer advice, and much less bear opposition; which knows neither obstacles nor dangers; which makes the beautiful to consist in impossibility; in a word, which fancies itself able to overcome, not only enemies, but time, place, and the whole order of nature; the usual effect of a long series of prosperity, which subdues the strongest, and makes them at length forget that they are men. We ourselves have seen a famous † conqueror, who prided himself upon treading in the steps of Alexander, carry further than he had ever done this kind of savage heroism; and lay it down as a maxim to himself, never to recede from his resolution.

* For this reason the city of *Egypt*, which the Scriptures ‡ call *No-Ammon* (*the city of Ham* or of *Ammon*), is called by the Greeks Διόσπολις, *or the city of Jupiter*.

† Charles XII. king of Sweden.

‡ Jerem. xlvi. 25. Ezek. xxx. 15. Nahum iii. 8.

A. M. 3673. Ant. J. C. 331. Alexander therefore sets out; and going down the river from Memphis, till he came to the sea, he coasts along it; and, after having passed Canopus, he observes, opposite to the island of Pharos, a spot which seemed to him very well situated for the building of a city. He himself drew the plan of it, and marked out the several places where the temples and public squares were to be erected. For the building it, he employed Dinocrates the architect, who had acquired great reputation by his re-building, at Ephesus the temples of Diana, which Herostratus had burnt. This city he called after his own name, Alexandria, and it afterwards rose to be the capital of the kingdom. As its harbour, which was very commodious, had the Mediterranean on one side, and the Nile and the Red Sea in its neighbourhood, it drew all the traffic of the east and west; and thereby became, in a very little time, one of the most flourishing cities in the universe.

Alexander had a journey to go of sixteen hundred stadia, or fourscore French leagues to the temple of Jupiter-Ammon; and most of the way was through sandy deserts. The soldiers were patient enough for the first two days' march, before they arrived in the extensive dreadful solitudes; but as soon as they found themselves in vast plains, covered with sands of a prodigious depth, they were seized with terror. Surrounded, as with a sea, they gazed round as far as their sight could extend, to discover, if possible, some place that was inhabited; but all in vain, for they could not perceive so much as a single tree, nor the least footsteps of any land that had been cultivated. To increase their calamity, the water, that they had brought in goat-skins, upon camels, now failed; and there was not so much as a single drop in all that sandy desert. They therefore were reduced to the sad condition of dying almost with thirst; not to mention the danger they were in of being buried under mountains of sand, that are sometimes raised by the

VIEW OF THE CITY AND PORT OF ALEXANDRIA AND ISLE OF PHAROS.

A. *The City.* B. *The Kings Palace.* C. *The Theatre adjoining to it.* D. *The Island of Pharos.*
E. *The narrow Way that joins it to the Town.* F. *The Light house.* G. *The Port.*

winds; and which had formerly destroyed fifty thousand of Cambyses's troops. Every thing was by this time scorched to so violent a degree, and the air became so hot, that the men could scarcely breathe; when, on a sudden, whether by chance, say the historians, or the immediate indulgence of Heaven, the sky was so completely overspread with thick clouds, that they hid the sun, which was a great relief to the army; though they were still in want of water. But the storm having discharged itself in a violent rain, every soldier got as much as he wanted; and some were so parched with thirst, that they stood with their mouths open, and catched the rain as it fell. The judicious reader knows what judgment he is to form of these marvellous incidents, with which historians have thought proper to embellish this relation.

They were several days in crossing these deserts; and upon their arriving near the place where the oracle stood, they perceived a great number of ravens flying before the most advanced standard. These ravens, sometimes, flew to the ground when the army marched slowly; and, at other times, advanced forward, as if they were to serve them as guides, till they, at last, came to the temple of the god. A very surprising circumstance is, that although this oracle be situated in the midst of an almost boundless solitude, it nevertheless is surrounded with a grove, so very shady, that the sun-beams can scarcely pierce it; not to mention that this grove is watered with several springs of fresh water, which preserve it in perpetual verdure. It is related, that near this grove there is another, in the midst of which is a fountain, called the *water*, or *fountain of the sun*. At day-break it is luke-warm, at noon cold: but in the evening it grows warmer by degrees, and at midnight is boiling hot; after this, as day approaches, it decreases in heat, and continues this vicissitude for ever.

The god, who is worshipped in this temple, is

not represented under the form which painters and sculptors generally give to gods; for he is made of emeralds, and other precious stones, and from the head to the *navel, resembles a ram. The king being come into the temple, the senior priest declared him to be the son of Jupiter; and assured him, that the god himself bestowed this name upon him. Alexander accepted it with joy, and acknowledged Jupiter as his father. He afterwards asked the priest, whether his father Jupiter had not allotted him the empire of the whole world? To which the priest, who was as much a flatterer as the king was vain-glorious, answered, that he should be monarch of the universe. At last, he enquired, whether all his father's murderers had been punished; but the priest replied, that he blasphemed; that his father was immortal; but that with regard to the murderers of Philip, they had all been extirpated; adding, that he should be invincible, and afterwards take his seat among the deities. Having ended his sacrifice, he offered magnificent presents to the god, and did not forget the priests, who had served his purpose so well.

Decorated with the splendid title of the son of Jupiter, and fancying himself raised above the human species, he returned from his journey as from a triumph. From that time, in all his letters, his orders, and decrees, he always assumed this title: [f] ALEXANDER KING, SON OF JUPITER-AMMON: in answer to which, Olympias, his mother, one day made a very witty remonstrance in few words, by desiring him not to engage her in any quarrels with Juno.

Whilst Alexander was indulging himself in these chimeras, and tasting the great pleasure his vanity made him conceive from this pompous title, every

[f] Varro apud A. Gell. l. xiii. c. 4.

* This passage in Quintus Curtius is pretty difficult, and is variously explained by interpreters.

one derided him in secret; and some, who had not yet put on the yoke of abject flattery, ventured to reproach him upon that account; but they paid very dear for that liberty, as the sequel will show. Not satisfied with endeavouring to pass for the son of a god, and of being himself persuaded, if indeed this were possible, that he really was such, he would also pass for a god himself; till at last, Providence having brought to pass through him the events of which he was chosen to be the instrument, brought him to his end, and thereby levelled him with the rest of mortals.

Alexander, upon his return from the temple of Jupiter-Ammon, being arrived at the *Palus Mareotis*, which was not far from the island of Pharos, made a visit to his new city, the building of which was already far advanced. He took the best methods possible to people it, inviting thither persons from all quarters, to whom he offered the most advantageous conditions. [g] He drew to it, among others, a considerable number of Jews, by allowing them very great privileges; for he not only left them the free exercise of their religion and laws, but put them on the same foot in every respect with the Macedonians whom he settled there. From thence he went to Memphis, where he spent the winter.

Varro observes, that at the time this king built Alexandria, the use of *papyrus* (for writing) was found in Egypt.

[h] During Alexander's stay in Memphis, he settled the affairs of Egypt, suffering none but Macedonians to command the troops. He divided the country into districts, over each of which he appointed a lieutenant, who received orders from himself only; not thinking it safe to intrust the general command of all the troops to one single person, in so large and populous a country. With regard to

[g] Joseph. contra Appion.
[h] Arrian. l. iii. p. 108—110. Q. Curt. l. iv. c. 8.

the civil government, he invested one Doloaspes an Egyptian, with the whole power of it; for being desirous that Egypt should still be governed by its ancient laws and customs, he was of opinion that a native of Egypt, to whom they must be familiar, was fitter for that office than any foreigner whatsoever.

To hasten the building of his new city, he appointed Cleomenes inspector over it; with orders for him to levy the tribute which Arabia was to pay. But this Cleomenes was a very wicked wretch, who abused his authority, and oppressed the people with the utmost barbarity.

SECT. VIII. *Alexander, after his return from Egypt, resolves to go in pursuit of Darius. At his setting out, he hears of the death of that monarch's queen. He causes to be paid her the honours which were due to her rank. He passes the Euphrates and Tigris, and comes up with Darius. The famous battle of Arbela.*

[1] ALEXANDER having settled the affairs of Egypt, set out from thence in the spring, to march into the East against Darius. In his way through Palestine, he heard news which gave him great uneasiness. At his going into Egypt, he had appointed Andromachus, whom he highly esteemed, governor of Syria and Palestine. Andromachus coming to Samaria to settle some affairs in that country, the Samaritans mutinied; and setting fire to the house in which he was, burnt him alive. It is very probable, that this was occasioned by the rage with which that people were fired, at their having been denied the same privileges that had been granted the Jews, their enemies. Alexander was highly exasperated against them for this cruel action, and accordingly he put to death all those

[1] Diod. l. xvii. p. 530—536. Arrian. l. iii. p. 111—127. Plutarch in Alex. p. 681—685. Q. Curt. l. iv. c. 9—16. Justin. l. xi. c. 12—14.

who had any hand in it, banished the rest from the city of Samaria, supplying their room with a colony of Macedonians, and divided the rest of their lands among the Jews.

He made some stay in Tyre, to settle the various affairs of the countries he left behind him, in his progress towards new conquests.

He was scarce set out, when an eunuch brought word, that Darius's consort was just dead. Hearing this, he returned back, and went into the tent of Sysigambis, whom he found bathed in tears, and lying on the ground, in the midst of the young princesses, who also were weeping; and near them the son of Darius, a child, *who was the more worthy of compassion, as he was less sensible to evils, which concerned him more than any other. Alexander consoled them in so kind and tender a manner, as plainly showed that he himself was deeply and sincerely afflicted. He caused her funeral obsequies to be performed with the utmost splendour and magnificence. One of the eunuchs who superintended the chamber, and who had been taken with the princesses, fled from the camp, and ran to Darius, whom he informed of his consort's death. The Persian monarch was seized with the most violent affliction upon hearing this news, particularly, as he supposed she would not be allowed the funeral ceremonies due to her exalted rank. But the eunuch undeceived him on this occasion, by telling him the honours which Alexander had paid his queen after her death, and the civilities he had always shown her in her life-time. Darius, upon hearing these words, was fired with suspicions of so horrid a kind, that they did not leave him a moment's quiet. A. M. 3673. Ant. J. C. 331.

Taking the eunuch aside, he spoke to him as follows. "If thou dost still acknowledge Darius

* *Ob id ipsum miserabilis, quòd nondum sentiebat calamitatem, maximâ ex parte ad ipsum redundantem.* Q. CURT.

" for thy lord and sovereign, tell me, by the respect " and veneration thou owest to that great splendour " of *Mithres which enlightens us, and to this " hand which the king stretcheth out to thee; tell " me, I say, whether, in bemoaning the death of " Statira, I do not bewail the least of her evils; and " whether, as she fell into the hands of a young " monarch, she did not first lose her honour, and " afterwards her life." The eunuch, throwing himself at Darius's feet, besought him not to think so injuriously of Alexander's virtue; nor dishonour his wife and sister after her death; and not to deprive himself of the greatest consolation he could possibly have in his misfortunes, *viz.* to be firmly persuaded, that the prince, who had triumphed over him, was superior to the frailties of other men; that he ought rather to admire Alexander, as he had given the Persian ladies much stronger proofs of his virtue and continence, than he had given the Persians themselves of his valour. After this, he confirmed all he had before said, by the most dreadful oaths and imprecations; and then gave him a particular account of what public fame had related, concerning the wisdom, temperance, and magnanimity of Alexander.

Darius, returning into the hall where his courtiers were assembled, and lifting up his hands to heaven, broke into the following prayer: "Ye gods, who " preside over the birth of men, and who dispose of " kings and empires, grant that, after having raised " the fortune of Persia from its dejected state, I " may transmit it to my descendants with the same " lustre in which I received it; in order that, after " having triumphed over my enemies, I may ac- " knowledge the favours which Alexander has " shown in my calamity to persons who, of all " others, are most dear to me: or, in case the time " ordained by the fates is at last come, when it

* The Persians worshipped the sun under the name of *Mithres*, and the moon under that of *Mithra*.

"must necessarily happen, from the anger of the "gods, or the ordinary vicissitudes of human affairs, that the empire of Persia must end; grant, "great gods, that none but Alexander may ascend "the throne of Cyrus."

In the mean time, Alexander having set out upon his march, arrived with his whole army at Thapsacus, where he passed a bridge that lay across the Euphrates, and continued his journey towards the Tigris, where he expected to come up with the enemy. Darius had already made overtures of peace to him twice; but finding at last that there were no hopes of their concluding one, unless he resigned the whole empire to him, he therefore prepared himself again for battle. For this purpose, he assembled in Babylon an army half as numerous again as that which he had at Issus, and marched it towards Nineveh: his forces covered all the plains of Mesopotamia. Advice being brought, that the enemy was not far off, he caused Satropates, colonel of the cavalry, to advance at the head of a thousand chosen horse; and likewise gave six thousand to Mazæus, governor of the province; to prevent Alexander from crossing the river, and to lay waste the country through which that monarch was to pass: but he arrived too late.

Of all the rivers of the East, this is the most rapid; and it not only receives a great number of rivulets in its waves, but drags along with it great stones; so that it is named Tigris, on account of its prodigious rapidity, an arrow being so called in the Persian tongue. Alexander sounded those parts of the river which were fordable, and there the water, at the entrance, came up to the horses' bellies, and in the middle to their breasts. Having drawn up his infantry in the form of a half moon, and posted his cavalry on the wings, they advanced to the current of the water with no great difficulty, carrying their arms over their heads. The king waded

on foot among the infantry, and was the first who appeared on the opposite shore, where he pointed out with his hand the ford to the soldiers; it not being possible for him to make them hear him. But it was with the greatest difficulty they kept their footing; because of the slipperiness of the stones, and the impetuosity of the stream. Such soldiers as not only carried their arms, but their clothes also, were much more embarassed; for being unable to support themselves, they were carried into whirlpools, unless they threw away their burthens. At the same time, the heaps of clothes floating up and down, beat down several; and, as every man endeavoured to catch at his own things, they annoyed one another more than the river did. It was to no purpose that the king commanded them, with a loud voice, to save nothing but their arms; and assured them, that he himself would compensate their other losses; for not one of them could hear his admonitions or orders, so great was the noise and tumult. At last, they all passed over that part of the ford where the water was shallowest, and the stream less impetuous, and their chief loss was only that of a small part of their baggage.

It is certain, that this army might easily have been cut to pieces, had they been opposed by a general who dared to conquer; that is, to make ever so little opposition to their passage. But Mazæus, who might easily have defeated them had he come up when they were crossing the river in disorder and confusion, did not arrive till they were drawn up in battle array. A like good fortune had always attended this prince hitherto, both when he passed the Granicus in sight of so prodigious a multitude of horse and foot, who waited his coming on the shore; and also in the rocks of Cilicia, when he found the passes and straits quite open and defenceless, where a small number of troops might have checked his progress. This circumstance may

lessen our surprise at that excess of boldness,* which was his peculiar characteristic, and which perpetually prompted him to encounter blindly the greatest dangers; since, as he was always fortunate, he never had once room to suspect himself guilty of rashness.

The king, having encamped two days near the river, commanded his soldiers to be ready for marching on the morrow; but about nine or ten in the evening, when the sky was calm and clear, the moon first lost its light, and appeared afterwards quite sullied, and as it were tinged with blood. Now as this happened just before a great battle was going to be fought, the doubtful success of which had already filled the army with sufficient disquietude, they were first struck with a religious awe, and afterwards seized with fear. They cried out, "That "heaven displayed the marks of its anger; and "that they were dragged, against the will of the "gods, to the extremities of the earth: that rivers "opposed their passage; that the stars refused to "lend their usual light; and that they could now "see nothing but deserts and solitudes; that merely to satisfy the ambition of one man, so many "thousands shed their blood; and that for a man "who contemned his own country, disowned his "father, and pretended to pass for a god."

These murmurs were rising to an open insurrection, when Alexander, whom nothing could intimidate, summoned the officers of the army into his tent, and commanded such of the Egyptian soothsayers who were best skilled in the knowledge of the stars, to declare what they thought of this phænomenon. These knew very well the natural causes of eclipses of the moon; but, without entering into physical arguments, they contented themselves with saying, that the sun was on the

* *Audaciæ quoque, quâ maximè viguit, ratio minui potest; quia nunquam in discrimen venit, an temerè fecisset.* Q. CURT.

side of the Greeks, and the moon on that of the Persians; and that, whenever it suffered an eclipse, it always threatened the latter with some grievous calamity, whereof they mentioned several examples, all which they adduced as true and indisputable. Superstition has a surprising influence over the minds of the vulgar. How headstrong and inconsistent soever they may be, yet if they are once struck with a vain image of religion, they will sooner obey soothsayers than their leaders. The answer made by the Egyptians being dispersed among the soldiers, it revived their hopes and courage.

The king, purposely to take advantage of this ardour, began his march after midnight. On his right hand lay the Tigris, and on his left the mountains called *Cordyæi*. At day-break the scouts, whom he had sent to view the enemy, brought word that Darius was marching towards him; upon which, he immediately drew up his forces in battle array, and set himself at their head. However, it was afterwards found, that they were only a detachment of a thousand horse that were sent out to reconnoitre, and which soon retired to the main army. Nevertheless, news was brought the king, that Darius was now but a hundred and fifty * stadia from the place where they then were.

Not long before this some letters had been intercepted, in which Darius solicited the Grecian soldiers either to kill or betray Alexander. Nothing can reflect so great an odium on the memory of this prince, as an attempt of that kind; an attempt so cowardly and black, and more than once repeated. Alexander was in doubt with himself, whether it would be proper for him to read these letters in a full assembly, relying as much on the affection and fidelity of the Greeks, as on that of the Macedonians. But Parmenio dissuaded him from it; de-

* Seven or eight leagues.

claring, that it would be dangerous even to awake such thoughts in the minds of soldiers; that one only was sufficient to strike the blow; and that avarice was capable of attempting the most enormous crimes. The king followed this prudent counsel, and ordered his army to march forward.

Although Darius had twice sued in vain for peace, and imagined that he had nothing to trust to but his arms; nevertheless, being overcome by the advantageous reports which had been made to him of Alexander's tenderness and humanity towards his family, he dispatched ten of his chief relations, who were to offer him fresh conditions of peace, more advantageous than the former; and to thank him for the kind treatment he had given his family. Darius had, in the former proposals, given him up all the provinces as far as the river Halys; but now he added the several territories situated between the Hellespont and the Euphrates, that is, all he already possessed. Alexander made the following answer: "Tell your sovereign, that thanks, "between persons who make war against each "other, are superfluous; and that in case I have "behaved with clemency towards his family, it was "for my own sake, and not for his; to gratify my "own inclination, and not to please him. To in-"sult the unhappy is a thing to me unknown. I "do not attack either prisoners or women, and "turn my rage against such only as are armed for "the fight. If Darius were sincere in his demand "for peace, I then would debate on what was to be "done; but since he still continues, by letters and "by money, to spirit up my soldiers to betray me, "and my friends to murder me, I therefore am de-"termined to pursue him with the utmost vigour; "and that not as an enemy, but a poisoner and an "assassin. It indeed becomes him to offer to "yield up to me what I am already possessed of! "Would he be satisfied with ranking himself as "second to me, without pretending to be my equal,

" I might possibly then hear him. Tell him that " the world will not permit two suns, nor two sove- " reigns. Let him therefore choose either to sur- " render to-day, or fight me to-morrow, and not " flatter himself with the hopes of better success " than he has hitherto had." Darius's proposals are certainly not reasonable; but then, is Alexander's answer much more so? In the former we behold a prince, who is not yet sensible of his own weakness, or at least, who cannot prevail with himself to own it; and in the latter, we see a monarch quite intoxicated with his good fortune, and carrying his pride to such an excess of folly, as is not to be paralleled: " The world will not permit two suns, nor two sovereigns." If this be greatness, and not bombast, I do not know what can ever deserve the latter name. The ambassadors having leave to depart, returned back, and told Darius that he must now prepare for battle. The latter pitched his camp near a village called Gaugamela, and the river Bumellus, in a plain at a considerable distance from Arbela. He had before levelled the spot which he pitched upon for the field of battle, in order that his chariots and cavalry might have full room to act; recollecting, that his engaging in the straits of Cilicia had lost him the battle fought there. At the same time, he had prepared caltraps* to annoy the enemy's horse.

Alexander, upon hearing this news, continued four days in the place he then was, to rest his army, and surrounded his camp with trenches and palisades; for he was determined to leave all his baggage and the useless soldiers in it, and march the remainder against the enemy, with no other equipage than the arms they carried. Accordingly, he set out about nine in the evening, in order to fight

* A caltrap is an instrument composed of iron spikes. Several of these are laid in the fields through which the cavalry is to march, in order that they may run into the horses' feet.

Darius at day-break; who, upon this news, had drawn up his army in order of battle. Alexander also marched in battle-array; for both armies were within two or three leagues of each other. When he was arrived at the mountains, where he could discover the enemy's whole army, he halted; and, having assembled his general officers, as well Macedonians as foreigners, he debated whether they should engage immediately, or pitch their camp in that place. The latter opinion being followed, because it was judged proper for them to view the field of battle, and the manner in which the enemy was drawn up, the army encamped in the same order in which it had marched; during which Alexander, at the head of his light infantry and his royal regiments, marched round the plain in which the battle was to be fought.

Being returned, he assembled his general officers a second time, and told them that there was no occasion for his making a speech, because their courage and great actions were alone sufficient to excite them to glory; that he desired them only to represent to the soldiers, that they were not to fight, on this occasion, for Phœnicia or Egypt, but for all Asia, which would be possessed by him who should conquer; and that, after having gone through so many provinces, and left behind them so great a number of rivers and mountains, they could secure their retreat no otherwise than by gaining a complete victory. After this speech, he ordered them to take some repose.

It is said that Parmenio advised him to attack the enemy in the night-time, alleging that they might easily be defeated, if fallen upon by surprise, and in the dark; but the king answered, so loud, that all present might hear him, that it did not become Alexander to steal a victory, and therefore he was resolved to fight and conquer in broad daylight. This was a haughty, but, at the same time, a prudent answer; for it was running great hazard,

to fall upon so numerous an army in the night-time, and in an unknown country. Darius, fearing he should be attacked at unawares, because he had not intrenched himself, obliged his soldiers to continue the whole night under arms, which proved of the highest prejudice to him in the engagement.

Alexander, who in the crisis of affairs used always to consult the soothsayers, observing very exactly whatever they enjoined, in order to obtain the favour of the gods, finding himself upon the point of fighting a battle, the success of which was to give empire to the conqueror, sent for Aristander, in whom he reposed the greatest confidence. He then shut himself up with the soothsayer, to make some secret sacrifices; and afterwards offered up victims to * Fear, which he doubtless did to prevent his troops from being seized with dread, at the sight of the formidable army of Darius. The soothsayer, dressed in his vestments, holding vervain, with his head veiled, first repeated the prayers which the king was to address to Jupiter, to Minerva, and to Victory. The whole being ended, Alexander went to bed, to repose himself during the remaining part of the night. As he revolved in his mind, not without some emotion, the consequence of the battle which was upon the point of being fought, he could not sleep immediately. But his body being oppressed, in a manner, by the anxiety of his mind, he slept soundly the whole night, contrary to his usual custom; so that when his generals were assembled at day-break before his tent, to receive his orders, they were greatly surprised to find he was not awake; upon which they themselves commanded the soldiers to take some refreshment. Parmenio having at last awakened him, and seeming surprised to find him in so calm and sweet a sleep, just as he was going to fight a battle, in which his whole fortune lay at stake! "How is it possible (said Alexander) for

* We must read in *Plutarch* φόβῳ instead of φοίβῳ.

us not to be calm, since the enemy is coming to deliver himself into our hands?" Immediately he took up his arms, mounted his horse, and rode up and down the ranks, exhorting the troops to maintain, and, if possible, to surpass, their ancient fame, and the glory they had hitherto acquired. Soldiers, on the day of battle, imagine they see the fate of the engagement painted in the face of their general. As for Alexander, he had never appeared so calm, so gay, nor so resolute. The serenity and security which they observed in him, were in a manner so many assurances of the victory.

There was a great difference between the two armies with respect to numbers, but much more so with regard to courage. That of Darius consisted at * least of six hundred thousand foot, and forty thousand horse; and the other of no more than forty thousand foot, and seven or eight thousand horse: but the latter was all fire and strength; whereas, on the side of the Persians, it was a prodigious assemblage of men, not of soldiers; † an empty phantom rather than a real army.

Both sides were disposed in very near the same array. The forces were drawn up in two lines, the cavalry on the two wings, and the infantry in the middle; the one and the other being under the particular conduct of the chiefs of each of the different nations that composed them, and commanded in general by the principal crown-officers. The front of the battle (under Darius) was covered with two hundred chariots armed with sithes, and with fifteen elephants, that king taking his post in the centre of the first line. Besides the guards, which were the flower of his forces, he also had fortified himself with the Grecian infantry, whom he had

* According to several historians it amounted to upwards of a million of men.

† *Nomina verius quàm auxilia.* Q. CURT.

drawn up near his person; believing this body only capable of opposing the Macedonian phalanx. As his army spread over a much greater space of ground than that of the enemy, he intended to surround, and to charge them, at one and the same time, both in front and flank.

But Alexander had guarded against this, by giving orders to the commanders of the second line, that in case they should be charged in their rear, to face about to that side; or else to draw up their troops in form of a gibbet, and cover their wings, in case the enemy should charge them in flank. He had posted, in the front of his first line, the greatest part of his bow-men, slingers, hurlers of javelins, in order that these might make head against the chariots armed with sithes; and frighten the horses, by discharging at them a shower of arrows, javelins, and stones. Those who led on the wings, were ordered to extend them as wide as possible; but in such a manner as not to weaken the main body. As for the baggage and the captives, among whom were Darius's mother and children, they were left in the camp, under a small guard. Parmenio commanded, as he had always done, the left wing, and Alexander the right.

When the two armies came in sight, Alexander, who had been shown the several places where the caltraps were hid, extended more and more towards the right to avoid them; and the Persians advanced forward in proportion. Darius, being afraid lest the Macedonians should draw him from the spot of ground he had levelled, and carry him into another that was rough and uneven, where his armed chariots could not act, commanded the cavalry in his left wing, which spread much farther than that of the enemy's right, to march right forward, and wheel about upon the Macedonians in flank, to prevent them from extending their line further. Then Alexander dispatched against them the body of horse in his service commanded by

Menidas; but, as these were not able to make head against the enemy, because of their prodigious numbers, he reinforced them with the Pæonians, whom Aretas commanded, and with the foreign cavalry. The barbarians gave way at first, but soon returned to the charge. Besides the advantage of numbers, they had that also of their coats of mail, which secured themselves and their horses much more. Alexander's cavalry was much annoyed: however, they sustained the charge with great bravery, and at last put them to flight.

Upon this, the Persians drove the chariots armed with sithes against the Macedonian phalanx, in order to break it, but with little success. The noise which the soldiers who formed that body made, by striking their swords against their bucklers, and the arrows which flew on all sides, frighted the horses, and made a great number of them turn back against their own troops. Others, laying hold of the horses' bridles, pulled the riders down, and cut them to pieces. Part of the chariots drove between the battalions, which opened to make way for them, as they had been ordered to do, by which means they did little or no execution.

Alexander, seeing Darius set his whole army in motion in order to charge him, employed a stratagem to encourage his soldiers. When the battle was at the hottest, and the Macedonians were in the greatest danger, Aristander, the soothsayer, clothed in his white robes, holding a branch of laurel in his hand, advances among the troops as he had been instructed by the king: and, crying that he saw an eagle hovering over Alexander's head (a sure omen of victory), he showed with his finger the pretended bird to the soldiers; who relying upon the sincerity of the soothsayer, fancied they also saw it; and thereupon renewed the attack with greater chearfulness and ardour than ever. Then the king perceiving that Aretas, after having charged the cavalry, and put them into disorder,

upon their advancing to surround his right wing, had begun to break the foremost ranks of the main body of the barbarian army; marched to support him with the flower of his troops, when he quite broke the enemy's left wing, which had already begun to give way; and without pursuing the forces which he had thrown into disorder, he wheeled to the left, in order to fall upon the body in which Darius had posted himself. The presence of the two kings inspired both sides with new vigour. Darius was mounted on a chariot, and Alexander on horseback; both surrounded with their bravest officers and soldiers, whose only endeavour was to save the lives of their respective princes, at the hazard of their own. The battle was obstinate and bloody. Alexander having wounded Darius's equerry with a javelin, the Persians, as well as the Macedonians, imagined that the king was killed; upon which the former, breaking aloud into the most dismal lamentations, the whole army was seized with the greatest consternation. The relations of Darius, who were at his left hand, fled away with the guards, and so abandoned the chariot; but those who were at his right, took him into the centre of their body. Historians relate, that this prince, having drawn his scimitar, reflected whether he ought not to lay violent hands upon himself, rather than fly in an ignominious manner; but, perceiving from his chariot that his soldiers still fought, he was ashamed to forsake them; and, as he was wavering between hope and despair, the Persians retired insensibly, and thinned their ranks; when it could no longer be called a battle, but a slaughter. Then Darius, turning about his chariot, fled with the rest; and the conqueror was now wholly employed in pursuing him.

Whilst all this was doing in the right wing of the Macedonians, where the victory was not doubtful; the left wing, commanded by Parmenio, was in great danger. A detachment of the Persian, In-

dian, and Parthian horse, which were the best in all the Persian army, having broke through the infantry on the left, advanced to the very baggage. The moment the captives saw them arrive in the camp, they armed themselves with every thing that came first to hand, and joining the cavalry, rushed upon the Macedonians, who were now charged both before and behind. They, at the same time, told Sysigambis, that Darius had won the battle (for this they believed); that the whole baggage was plundered, and that she was now going to recover her liberty. But this princess, who was a woman of great wisdom, though this news affected her in the strongest manner, could not easily give credit to it; and being unwilling to exasperate, by too hasty a joy, a conqueror who had treated her with so much humanity, did not discover the least emotion; did not once change countenance, nor let drop a single word; but, in her usual posture, calmly waited till the event should denounce her fate.

Parmenio, upon the first report of this attack, had dispatched a messenger to Alexander to acquaint him with the danger to which the camp was exposed, and to receive his orders. "Above all "things (said the prince) let him not weaken his "main body; let him not mind the baggage, but "apply himself wholly to the engagement; for vic-"tory will not only restore us our own possessions, "but also give those of the enemy into our hands." The general officers, who commanded the infantry which formed the centre of the second line, seeing the enemy were going to make themselves masters of the camp and baggage, made a half-turn to the right, in obedience to the order which had been given, and fell upon the Persians behind, many of whom were cut to pieces, and the rest obliged to retire; but as these were horse, the Macedonian foot could not follow them.

Soon after, Parmenio himself was exposed to

much greater peril. Mazæus, having rushed upon him with all his cavalry, charged the Macedonians in flank, and began to surround them. Immediately Parmenio sent Alexander advice of the danger he was in; declaring, that in case he were not immediately succoured, it would be impossible for him to keep his soldiers together. The prince was actually in pursuit of Darius, and fancying he was almost come up with him, rode with the utmost speed. He flattered himself, that he should absolutely put an end to the war, in case he could but seize his person. But, upon this news, he turned about, in order to succour his left wing, shuddering with rage to see his prey and victory torn in this manner from him; and complaining against fortune, for having favoured Darius more in his flight, than himself in the pursuit of that monarch.

Alexander, in his march, met the enemy's horse who had plundered the baggage, returning in good order, and retiring, not as soldiers who had been defeated, but almost as if they had gained the victory. And now the battle become more obstinate than before; for the barbarians marching close in columns, not in order of battle, but of march, it was very difficult to break through them; and they did not amuse themselves with throwing javelins, nor with wheeling about according to their usual custom; but man engaging against man, each did all that lay in his power to unhorse his enemy. Alexander lost threescore of his guards in this attack. Hephæstion, Cœnus, and Menidas, were wounded in it; however he triumphed on this occasion, and all the barbarians were cut to pieces, except such as forced their way through his squadrons.

During this, news had been brought Mazæus that Darius was defeated; upon which, being greatly alarmed and dejected by the ill success of that monarch, though the advantage was entirely on his

side, he ceased to charge the enemy, who were now in disorder, so briskly as before. Parmenio could not conceive how it came to pass, that the battle, which before was carried on so warmly, should slacken on a sudden: however, like an able commander, who seizes every advantage, solely intent upon inspiring his soldiers with fresh vigour, he observed to them, that the terror which spread throughout the enemy's ranks, was the forerunner of their defeat; and fired them with the notion how glorious it would be for them to put the last hand to the victory. Upon this exhortation, they recovered their former hopes and bravery; and transformed on a sudden, as it were, into other men, they gave their horses the rein, and charged the enemy with so much fury, as threw them into the greatest disorder, and obliged them to fly. Alexander came up at that instant, and overjoyed to find the scale turned in his favour, and the enemy entirely defeated, he renewed (in concert with Parmenio) the pursuit of Darius. He rode as far as Arbela, where he fancied he should come up with that monarch and all his baggage; but Darius had only just passed by it, and left his treasure a prey to the enemy, with his bow and shield.

Such was the success of this famous battle, which gave empire to the conqueror. According to Arrian, the Persians lost three hundred thousand men, besides those who were taken prisoners; which, at least, is a proof that the loss was very great on their side. That of Alexander was very inconsiderable, he not losing, according to the last-mentioned author, twelve hundred men, most of whom were horse. This engagement was fought in the month of * October, about the same time that, two years before, the battle of Issus was fought. As Gaugamela, in Assyria, the spot where the two armies A. M. 3674. Ant. J. C. 330.

* The month, called by the Greeks *Boedromion*, answers partly to our month of October.

engaged, was a small place of very little note, this was called the battle of Arbela, that being the nearest city to the field of battle.

SECT. IX. *Alexander possesses himself of Arbela, Babylon, Susa, Persepolis, and finds immense riches in those cities. At a banquet he sets fire to the palace of Persepolis.*

[k] ALEXANDER's first care, after his obtaining the victory, was to offer magnificent sacrifices to the gods by way of thanksgiving. He afterwards rewarded such as had signalized themselves remarkably in the battle; bestowed riches upon them with a very liberal hand, and gave to each of them houses, employments, and governments. But, being desirous of expressing more particularly his gratitude to the Greeks, for having appointed him generalissimo against the Persians, he gave orders for abolishing the several tyrannical institutions that had started up in Greece; that the cities should be restored to their liberties, and all their rights and privileges. He wrote particularly to the Platæans, declaring, that it was his desire their city should be rebuilt, to reward the zeal and bravery by which their ancestors had distinguished themselves, in defending the common liberties of Greece. He also sent part of the spoils to the people of Crotona in Italy; to honour, after the lapse of so many years, the good-will and courage of Phayllus the wrestler, a native of their country, [l] who, (whilst war was carrying on by the Medes, and when all the rest of the Greeks that were settled in Italy had abandoned the

[k] Diod. l. xvii. p. 538—540. Arrian. l. iii. p. 127—133. Plut. in Alex. p. 685—688. Quint. Curt. l. v. c. 1—7. Justin. l. xi. c. 14.

[l] Herodotus relates this history in very few words, l. viii. c. 47.

true, Grecians, imagining they were entirely undone,) fitted out a galley at his own expence, and sailed to Salamis, to partake of the danger to which his countrymen were at that time exposed. So great a friend and encourager, says Plutarch, was Alexander, of every kind of virtue; considering himself obliged in a manner to perpetuate the remembrance of all great actions, to give them the immortality they merited, and propose them to posterity as so many models for their imitation.

Darius, after his defeat, with very few attendants, had rode towards the river Lycus. After crossing it, several advised him to break down the bridge, because the enemy pursued him. But he made this generous answer:* "That life was not "so dear to him, as to make him desire to preserve "it by the destruction of so many thousands of his "subjects and faithful allies, who, by that means, "would be delivered up to the mercy of the enemy; "that they had as much right to pass over this "bridge as their sovereign, and consequently that "it ought to be as open to them as to himself." After riding a great number of leagues full speed, he arrived at midnight at Arbela. From thence he fled towards Media, over the Armenian mountains, followed by his nobility and a few of his guards. The reason of his going that way was, his supposing that Alexander would proceed towards Babylon and Susa, there to enjoy the fruits of his victory: besides, a numerous army could not pursue him by this road; whereas, in the other, horses and chariots might advance with great ease; not to mention that the country was very fruitful.

A few days after, Arbela surrendered to Alexander, who found in it a great quantity of furniture belonging to the crown, rich clothes, and other pre-

* *Non ita se saluti suæ velle consultum, ut tot millia sociorum hosti objiciat: debere et aliis fugæ viam patere, quæ patuerit sibi.* JUSTIN.

cious articles, with four thousand talents (about 775,000*l.*), and all the riches of the army, which Darius had left there at his setting out against Alexander, as was before observed. But he was soon obliged to leave that place, because of the diseases that spread in his camp, occasioned by the infection of the dead bodies which covered all the field of battle. This prince advanced therefore over the plains towards Babylon, and, after four days' march, arrived at Memnis, where, in a cave is seen the celebrated fountain which throws out bitumen, in such quantities, that, we are told, it was used as cement in building the walls of Babylon.

But what Alexander admired most, was a great gulph, whence streamed perpetually rivulets of fire, as from an inexhaustible spring; and a flood of naphtha, which overflowing, from the prodigious quantities of it, formed a great lake, pretty near the gulph. This naphtha is exactly like bitumen, but has one quality more, *viz.* its catching fire so very suddenly, that, before it touches a flame, it takes fire merely from the light that surrounds the flame, and sets the air between both on fire. The barbarians being desirous of showing the king the strength and subtle nature of this combustible substance, scattered several drops of it up and down after his arrival in Babylon, in that street which went up to the house he had chosen for his residence. After this, going to the other end of the street, they brought torches near the places where those drops were fallen (for it was night), and the drops which were nighest the torches taking fire on a sudden, the flame ran in an instant to the other end; by which means the whole street seemed in one general conflagration.

When Alexander drew near Babylon, Mazæus, who had retired thither after the battle of Arbela, surrendered himself, with his children, who were grown up, and gave the city into his hands. The

king was very well pleased with his arrival; for he would have met with great difficulties in besieging a city of such importance, and so well provided with every thing. Besides his being a person of quality, and very brave, he had also acquired great honour in the last battle; and others might be prompted, from the example he set them, to imitate him. Alexander entered the city at the head of his whole army, as if he had been marching to a battle. The walls of Babylon were lined with people, notwithstanding the greatest part of the citizens were gone out to meet him, from the impatient desire they had to see their new sovereign, whose renown had far outstripped his march. Bagophanes, governor of the fortress and guardian of the treasure, unwilling to discover less zeal than Mazæus, strewed the streets with flowers, and raised on both sides of the way silver altars, which smoked not only with frankincense, but the most fragrant perfumes of every kind. Last of all came the presents which were to be made the king, *viz.* herds of cattle, and a great number of horses; as also lions and panthers, which were carried in cages. After these the magi walked, singing hymns after the manner of their country; then the Chaldeans, accompanied by the Babylonish soothsayers and musicians: it was customary for the latter to sing the praises of their kings to their instruments; and the Chaldeans to observe the motion of the planets, and the vicissitude of the seasons. The rear was brought up by the Babylonish cavalry, of which both men and horses were so sumptuous, that imagination can scarce conceive their magnificence. The king caused the people to walk after his infantry, and himself, surrounded with his guards, and seated on a chariot, entered the city; and from thence rode to the palace, as in a kind of triumph. The next day he took a view of all Darius's money and moveables. Of the moneys which he found in Babylon, he gave, by way of extraor-

dinary recompence, to each Macedonian horsemen six *minæ* (about fifteen pounds); to each foreign horseman two *minæ* (about five pounds); to every Macedonian foot soldier, two *minæ;* and to every one of the rest, two months of their ordinary pay. He gave orders pursuant to the advice of the magi, with whom he had several conferences, for the rebuilding the temples which Xerxes had demolished; and, among others, that of Belus, who was held in greater veneration at Babylon than any other deity. He gave the government of the province to Mazæus, and the command of the forces he left there, to Apollodorus of Amphipolis.

Alexander, in the midst of the hurry and tumult of war, still preserved a love for the sciences. He used often to converse with the Chaldeans, who had always applied themselves to the study of astronomy from the earliest times, and gained great fame by their knowledge in it.* They presented him with astronomical observations, taken by their predecessors during the space of 1903 years, which consequently went as far backward as the age of Nimrod. These were sent by Callisthenes, who accompanied Alexander, to Aristotle.

The king resided longer in Babylon than he had done in any other city, which was of great prejudice to the discipline of his forces. The people, even from a religious motive, abandoned themselves to pleasures, to voluptuousness, and the most infamous excesses; nor did ladies, though of the highest quality, observe any decorum, or show the least reserve in their licentiousness, but gloried therein, so far from endeavouring to conceal it, or blushing at their enormity. It must be confessed, that this army of soldiers, which had triumphed over Asia, after having thus enervated themselves, and rioted, as it were, in the sloth and luxury of the city of Babylon, for thirty-four days together, would

* *Porphyr. apud Simplic. in lib. ii. de Cœlo.*

have been scarce able to complete their exploits, had they been opposed by an enemy. But, as they were reinforced from time to time, these irregularities were not so visible; for Amyntas brought six thousand foot and five hundred Macedonian horse, which were sent by Antipater; and six hundred Thracian horse, with three thousand five hundred foot of the same nation; besides four thousand mercenaries from Peloponnesus, with near four hundred horses.

The above-mentioned Amyntas had also brought the king fifty Macedonian youths, sons to noblemen of the highest quality in the country, to serve as his guards. These youths waited upon him at table, brought him his horses when in the field, attended upon him in parties of hunting, and kept guard at the door of his apartment by turns: and these were the first steps to the highest employments both in the army and the state.

After Alexander had left Babylon, he entered the province of Sitacena, the soil of which is very fruitful, and productive of every thing valuable, which made him continue the longer in it. But lest indolence should enervate the courage of his soldiers, he proposed prizes for such of them as should exert the greatest bravery; and appointed as judges of the actions of those who should dispute this honour, persons, who themselves had been eye-witnesses of the proofs of bravery which each soldier had given in the former battles, for on these only the prizes were to be bestowed. To each of the eight men who were pronounced most valiant, he gave a regiment, consisting of a thousand men; whence those officers were called *Chiliarchi.* This was the first time that regiments were composed of so great a number of soldiers, as they consisted before but of five hundred, and had not yet been the reward of valour. The soldiers ran in crowds to view this illustrious sight, not only as eye-witnesses of the actions of all, but as judges over the

judges themselves; because they might perceive very easily, whether rewards were bestowed on merit, or merely by favour; a circumstance in which soldiers can never be imposed upon. The prizes seem to have been distributed with the utmost equity and justice.

He likewise made several very advantageous changes in military discipline, as established by his predecessors; for he formed one single body of his whole cavalry, without showing any regard to the difference of nations, and appointed such officers to command them, as they themselves thought fit to nominate; whereas before, the horse of every nation used to fight under its own particular standard, and was commanded by a colonel of its country. The trumpet's sound used to be the signal for the march; but as it very frequently could not be well heard, because of the great noise that is made in decamping, he gave orders that a standard should be set up over his tent, which might be seen by his whole army. He also appointed fire to be the signal in the night-time, and smoke in the day.

Alexander marched afterwards towards Susa, where he arrived twenty days after his leaving Babylon. As he came near it, Abutites, governor of the province, sent his son to meet him, with a promise to surrender the city into his hands; whether he was prompted to this from his own inclination, or did it in obedience to the orders of Darius, to amuse Alexander with the hopes of plunder, the king gave this young nobleman a very gracious reception, who conducted him to the river Choaspes, the waters of which are so famous, upon account of their exquisite taste.[m] The kings of Persia never drank of any other; and, whithersoever they went, a quantity of it, after having been put over the fire, was always carried after them in silver vases. It was here that Abutites came to wait upon

[m] Herod. lib. i. c. 188.

him, bringing presents worthy of a king; among which were dromedaries of incredible swiftness, and twelve elephants which Darius had sent for from India. Being come into the city, he took immense sums out of the treasury, with fifty thousand* talents of silver in ore and ingots, besides moveables, and a thousand other things of infinite value. This wealth was the produce of the exactions imposed for several centuries upon the common people, from whose sweat and poverty immense revenues were raised. The Persian monarchs fancied they had amassed them for their children and posterity; but, in one hour, they fell into the hands of a foreign king, who was able to make a right use of them; for Alexander seemed to be merely the guardian or trustee of the immense riches which he found hoarded up in Persia; and applied them to no other use than the rewarding of merit and courage.

Among other things, there were found † five thousand quintals of Hermione ‡ purple, the finest in the world, which had been treasured up there during the space of one hundred and ninety years; notwithstanding which, its beauty and lustre were no ways diminished.

Here likewise was found a part of the rarities which Xerxes had brought from Greece; and, among others, the brazen statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton, which Alexander sent afterwards to Athens, where they were standing in § Arrian's time.

* About seven millions five hundred thousand pounds.

† The reader will have an idea of the prodigious value of this, when he is told, that this purple was sold at the rate of a hundred crowns a pound. The quintal is a hundred weight of Paris.

‡ Hermione was a city of Argolis, where the best purple was dyed.

§ What Arrian ascribes here to Alexander, in regard to the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton, is attributed by other historians to other princes.

The king being resolved to march into Persia, appointed Archelaus governor of the city of Susa, with a garrison of three thousand men; Mazarus, one of the lords of his court, was made governor of the citadel, with a thousand Macedonian soldiers, who could not follow him by reason of their great age. He gave the government of Susiana to Abutites.

He left Darius's mother and children in Susa; and having received from Macedonia a great quantity of purple stuffs and rich habits, made after the fashion of the country, he presented them to Sysigambis, together with the artificers who had wrought them; for he had paid her every kind of honour, and loved her as tenderly as if she had been his mother. He likewise commanded the messengers to tell her, that in case she was pleased with those stuffs, she might make her grandchildren learn the art of weaving them, by way of amusement; and to give them as presents to whomsoever they should think proper. At these words, the tears which fell from her eyes showed but too evidently how greatly she was displeased with these gifts, and how insulting she considered the message; the working in wool being considered by the Persian women as the highest ignominy. Those who carried these presents, having told the king that Sysigambis was very much dissatisfied, he thought himself obliged to make an apology for what he had done, and administer some consolation to her. Accordingly, he paid her a visit, when he spoke thus: "Mother, the stuff in which you "see me clothed, was not only a present from my "sisters, but wrought by their fingers. Hence I beg "you to believe, that the custom of my country mis-"led me; and do not consider that as insult, which "was owing entirely to ignorance. I believe I have "not as yet done any thing which I knew interfered "with your manners and customs. I was told, that "among the Persians it is a sort of crime for a son "to seat himself in his mother's presence, without

" first obtaining her leave. You are sensible how " cautious I have always been in this particular; " and that I never sat down, till you had first laid " your commands upon me to do so. And every " time that you were going to fall prostrate before " me, I only ask you whether I would suffer it? As " the highest testimony of the veneration I have for " you, I have always called you by the tender " name of mother, though this belongs properly " to Olympias alone, to whom I owe my birth."

What I have just now related, may suggest two reflections, both which, in my opinion, are very natural, and at the same time of the utmost importance.

First, we see to how great a height the Persians (so vain and haughty in other respects) carried the veneration they showed their parents. The reader, doubtless, remembers, that Cyrus the Great, in the midst of his conquests, and at the most brilliant era of his good fortune, would not accept of the advantageous offer made him by Cyaxares, his uncle, of giving him his daughter in marriage, and Media for her dowry, till he had first advised with his father and mother, and obtained their consent. *History informs us, here, that among the Persians, a son, how great and powerful soever he might be, never dared to seat himself before his mother, till he had first obtained her leave; and that to do otherwise was considered as a crime. Alas! how widely different are our manners!

Secondly, I discover in the same relation, several valuable footsteps of that happy simplicity which prevailed in ancient times, when it was the custom for ladies, though of the greatest distinction, to employ themselves in useful and sometimes laborious works. Every one knows what is told us in Scripture to this purpose concerning Rebecca,

* *Scio apud vos, filium in conspectu matris nefas esse considere, nisi cum illa permisit.* Q. CURT.

Rachael, and several others. We read in Homer, of princesses themselves drawing water from springs, and washing, with their own hands, the linen of their respective families. *Here the sisters of Alexander, that is, the daughters of a powerful prince, are employed in making clothes for their brother. The celebrated Lucretia used to spin in the midst of her female attendants. Augustus, who was sovereign of the world, wore, for several years together, no other clothes but what his wife and sister made him. It was a custom in the northern parts of the world, not many years since, for the princes, who then sat upon the throne, to prepare several of the dishes at every meal. In a word, needle-work, the care of domestic affairs, a serious and retired life, is the proper function of women, and for this they were designed by Providence. The depravity of the age has indeed affixed to these customs, which are very near as old as the creation, an idea of meanness and contempt: but then, what has it substituted in the room of the hardy and vigorous exercises which a proper education enabled the sex to undertake, in the room of that laborious and useful life which was spent at home? A lanquid indolence, a stupid idleness, frivolous conversation, vain amusements, a strong passion for public shows, and a frantic love of gaming. Let us compare these two characters, and then pronounce which of them may justly boast its being founded on good sense, solid judgment, and a taste for truth and nature. It must, nevertheless, be confessed, in honour of the fair sex and of our nation, that several ladies among us, and those of the highest quality, make it not only a duty, but a pleasure, to employ themselves in works, not of a trifling, but of the most useful kind; and to make part of their furniture with their own hands. I also might add, that great numbers

* *Mater, hanc vestem, quâ indutus sum, sororum non solùm donum, sed etiam opus vides.* Q. CURT.

of these adorn their minds with agreeable, and, at the same time, serious and useful studies.

Alexander, having taken his leave of Sysigambis, who now was extremely well satisfied, arrived on the banks of a river, called by the inhabitants of the country Pasi-Tigris.* Having crossed it with nine thousand foot and three thousand horse, consisting of Agrians, as well as of Grecian mercenaries, and a reinforcement of three thousand Thracians, he entered the country of the *Uxii*. This region lies near Susa and extends to the frontiers of Persia; a narrow pass only lying between it and Susiana. Madetes commanded this province. †This man was not a time-server, not a follower of fortune; but faithful to his sovereign, he resolved to hold out to the last extremity; and for this purpose, had withdrawn into his own city, which stood in the midst of craggy rocks, and was surrounded with precipices. Having been forced from thence, he retired into the citadel, whence the besieged sent thirty deputies to Alexander, to sue for quarter; which they obtained, at last, by the intercession of Sysigambis. The king not only pardoned Madetes, who was a near relation of that princess, but likewise set all the captives, and those who had surrendered themselves, at liberty; permitted them to enjoy their several rights and privileges; would not suffer the city to be plundered, and permitted them to plough their lands without paying any tax or tribute. Could Sysigambis have possibly obtained more from her own son on this occasion, had he been the victor?

The *Uxii* being subdued, Alexander gave part of his army to Parmenio, and commanded him to march it through the plain; whilst himself, at the head of his light-armed troops, crossed the moun-

* This is a different river from the Tigris.

† *Haud sanè temporum homo: quippe ultima pro fide experiri decreverat.* Q. CURT.

tains, which extend as far as Persia. The fifth day he arrived at the pass of Susa. Ariobarzanes, with four thousand foot and seven hundred horse, had taken possession of those rocks which are craggy on all sides, and posted the barbarians at the summit, out of the reach of arrows. He also had built a wall in those passes, and encamped his forces under it. As soon as Alexander advanced in order to attack him, the barbarians rolled, from the top of the mountains, stones of a prodigious size, which falling from rock to rock, rushed forward with the greater violence, and at once crushed to pieces whole bands of soldiers. The king being very much terrified at this sight, commanded a retreat to be sounded; and it was with the utmost grief he saw himself not only stopped at this pass, but deprived of all hopes of ever being able to force it.

Whilst he was revolving these gloomy thoughts, a Grecian prisoner presented himself to Alexander, and promised to conduct him to the top of the mountain by another way. The king accepted of the offer, and, leaving the superintendence of the camp and of the army to Craterus, he commanded him to cause a great number of fires to be lighted, in order that the barbarians might thereby be more strongly induced to believe, that Alexander was there in person. After this, taking some chosen troops with him, he set out, going through all the bye-ways as his guide directed. But, besides that these paths were very craggy, and the rocks so slippery that their feet would scarce stand upon them; the soldiers were also very much distressed by the snows which the winds had brought together, and which were so deep, that the men fell into them, as into so many ditches; and when their comrades endeavoured to draw them out, they themselves would likewise sink into them; not to mention, that their fears were greatly increased by the horrors of the night, by their being in an unknown country, and conducted by a guide whose fidelity

was doubtful. After having gone through many difficulties and dangers, they at last got to the top of the mountain. Then going down, they discovered the enemy's corps-de-garde, and appeared behind them sword in hand, at a time when they least expected it. Such as made the least defence, who were but few, were cut to pieces; by which means the cries of the dying on one side, and on the other the fright of those who were retiring to their main body, spread so great a terror, that they fled, without striking a blow. At this noise Craterus advanced, as Alexander had commanded when he left him, and seized the pass, which, till then, had resisted his attacks; and at the same time, Philotas advanced forwards by another way, with Amyntas, Cœnus, and Polysperchon, and broke quite through the barbarians, who now were attacked on every side. The greatest part of them were cut to pieces, and those who fled, fell into precipices. Ariobarzanes, with part of the cavalry, escaped through mountains.

Alexander, in consequence of the good fortune which constantly attended him in all his undertakings, having extricated himself happily out of the danger to which he was so lately exposed, marched immediately towards Persia. On the road he received letters from Tiridates, governor of Persepolis, which informed him, that the inhabitants of that city, upon the report of his advancing towards him, were determined to plunder Darius's treasures, with which he was intrusted, and therefore that it was necessary for him to make all the haste imaginable to seize them himself; that he had only the *Araxes to cross, after which the road was smooth and easy. Alexander, upon this news, leaving his infantry behind, marched the whole night at the head of his cavalry, who were very much harassed by the length and swiftness of this march, and pass-

* This is not the same river with that in Armenia.

ed the Araxes on a bridge, which, by his order, had been built some days before.

But, as he drew near the city, he perceived a large body of men, who exhibited a memorable example of the extremest misery. These were about eight hundred Greeks, very far advanced in years, who, having been made prisoners of war, had suffered all the torments which the Persian tyranny could inflict. They had cut off the hands of some, the feet of others; the noses and ears of others: after which, having impressed, by fire, barbarous characters on their faces, they had the inhumanity to keep them as so many laughing-stocks, with which they glutted their eyes and their cruelty. They appeared like so many shadows, rather than like men; speech being almost the only thing by which they were known to be such. Alexander could not refrain from tears at this sight; and, as they unanimously besought him to commiserate their condition, he bid them, with the utmost tenderness, not to despond, and assured them that they should again see their wives and country. This proposal, which one might suppose should naturally have filled them with joy, perplexed them very much, various opinions arising on that occasion. "How will it be possible (said some of them) for "us to appear publicly before all Greece, in the "dreadful condition to which we are reduced; a "condition still more shameful than dissatisfactory? "The best way to bear misery is to conceal it; and "no country is so sweet to the wretched, as so-"litude, and an oblivion of their past happiness. "Besides, how will it be possible for us to under-"take so long a journey? Driven to a great dis-"tance from Europe, banished to the most remote "parts of the East, worn out with age, and most "of our limbs maimed, can we pretend to undergo "fatigues, which have wearied even a triumphant "army? The only thing that now remains for us, "is to hide our misery, and to end our days among

" those who are already so accustomed to our mis-
" fortunes." Others, in whom the love of their country extinguished all other sentiments, represented, "that the gods offered them what they " should not even have dared to wish, *viz.* their " country, their wives, their children, and all those " things for whose sake men are fond of life, and " despise death: that they had long enough borne " the sad yoke of slavery; and that nothing hap-" pier could present itself than their being indulged " the bliss of going at last to breathe the air of " liberty, to resume their ancient manners, laws, " and sacrifices, and to die in presence of their " wives and children."

However, the former opinion prevailed; and accordingly they besought the king to permit them to continue in a country where they had spent so many years. He granted their request, and presented each of them * three thousand drachmas; five men's suits of clothes, and the same number for women; two couple of oxen to plough their lands, and corn to sow them. He commanded the governor of the province not to suffer them to be molested in any manner, and ordered that they should be free from taxes and tributes of every kind. Such behaviour as this was truly royal. It was, indeed, impossible for Alexander to restore them the limbs, of which the Persians had so cruelly deprived them; but he restored them to liberty, tranquillity, and abundance. Thrice happy those princes, who are affected with the pleasure which arises from the doing of good actions, and who melt with pity for the unfortunate!

Alexander, having called together, the next day, the generals of his army, represented to them, " That no city in the world had ever been more " fatal to the Greeks than Persepolis, the ancient

* About seventy-five pounds.

" residence of the Persian monarchs, and the capi-
" tal of their empire: that it was from thence all
" those mighty armies poured, which had overflowed
" Greece; and whence Darius first, and afterwards
" Xerxes, had carried the fire-brand of the most
" accursed war, which had laid waste all Europe;
" and therefore that it was incumbent on them to
" revenge the manes of their ancestors." It was already abandoned by the Persians, who all fled as fear directed them. Alexander entered it with his phalanx, when the victorious soldiers soon met with riches sufficient to satiate their avarice, and immediately cut to pieces all those who still remained in the city. However, the king soon put an end to the massacre, and published an order, by which his soldiers were forbid to violate the chastity of the women. Alexander had before possessed himself, either by force or capitulation, of a great number of incredibly rich cities; but all this was a trifle compared with the treasures he found here. The barbarians had laid up at Persepolis, as in a storehouse, all the wealth of Persia. Gold and silver were never seen here but in heaps, not to mention the clothes and furniture of inestimable value; for this was the seat of luxury. There were found in the treasury one hundred and twenty thousand talents,* which were designed to defray the expence of the war. To this prodigious sum he added† six thousand talents, taken from Pasargada. This was a city which Cyrus had built, wherein the kings of Persia used to be crowned.

During Alexander's stay in Persepolis, a little before he set out upon his march against Darius, he entertained his friends at a banquet, at which the guests drank to excess. Among the women, who were admitted to it, was Thaïs the courtesan, a native of Attica, and at that time mistress to

* About eighteen millions sterling.
† About nine hundred thousand pounds.

Ptolemy, who afterwards was king of Egypt. About the end of the feast, during which she had studiously endeavoured to praise the king in the most artful and delicate manner (a stratagem too often practised by women of that character), she said, with a gay tone of voice, "That it would be matter "of inexpressible joy to her, were she permitted (in "order to end this festival nobly) to burn the magnificent palace of Xerxes, who had burned Athens; "and to set it on fire with her own hand, in presence of the king, in order that it might be said "in all parts of the world, that the women who had "followed Alexander in his expedition to Asia, had "taken much better vengeance of the Persians, for the "many calamities they had brought upon the Grecians, than all the generals who had fought for them "both by sea and land. All the guests applauded the discourse; when immediately the king "rose from the table (his head being crowned with "flowers), and taking a torch in his hand, he advanced forward to execute this mighty exploit. The whole company follow him, breaking into loud acclamations, and afterwards, singing and dancing, they surround the palace. All the rest of the Macedonians, at this noise, ran in crowds, with lighted torches, and set fire to every part of it. However, Alexander was sorry, not long after, for what he had done; and thereupon gave orders for extinguishing the fire, but it was too late.

As he was naturally very bountiful, his great successes increased this beneficent disposition; and he accompanied the presents he made with such testimonies of humanity and kindness, and so obliging a demeanour, as very much enhanced their value. He acted thus in a particular manner towards fifty Macedonian young noblemen, who served under him as guards. Olympias his mother, thinking him too profuse, wrote to him as follows: "I do not "blame you (said she) for being beneficent towards "your friends, for that is acting like a king: but

" then a medium ought to be observed in your " magnificence. You equal them all with kings, " and by heaping riches on them, you give them an " opportunity of making a great number of friends, " of all whom you deprive yourself." As she often wrote the same advice to him, he always kept her letters very secret, and did not show them to any person; but happening to open one of them, and beginning to read it, Hephæstion drew near to him, and read it over his shoulder, which the king observing, did not offer to hinder him; but only taking the ring from his finger, he put the seal of it upon the lips of his favourite, as an admonition to him not to divulge what he had read.

He used to send magnificent presents to his mother: but then he would never let her have any concern in the affairs of the government. She used frequently to make very severe complaints upon that account; but he always submitted to her ill-humour with great mildness and patience. Antipater having one day written a long letter against her, the king, after reading it, replied, " Antipater " does not know that one single tear shed by a mo- " ther, will obliterate ten thousand such letters as " this." A behaviour like this, and such an answer, show, at one and the same time, that Alexander was both a kind son and an able politician; and that he was perfectly sensible how dangerous it would have been, had he invested a woman of Olympias's character with the supreme authority.

SECT. X. *Darius leaves Ecbatana. He is betrayed and put in chains by Bessus, governor of Bactriana. The latter, upon Alexander's advancing towards him, flies, after having covered Darius with wounds, who expires a few moments before Alexander's arrival. He sends his corpse to Sysigambis.*

[a] ALEXANDER, after he had taken Persepolis and Pasargada, resolved to pursue Darius, who was arrived by this time at Ecbatana, the capital of Media. There remained still with this fugitive prince thirty thousand foot, among whom were four thousand Greeks, who were faithful to him to the last. Besides these he had four thousand slingers and upwards of three thousand cavalry, most of them Bactrians, commanded by Bessus, governor of Bactriana. Darius marched his forces a little out of the common road, having ordered his baggage to go before; then assembling his principal officers, he spoke to them as follows: "Dear companions, "among so many thousand men who composed "my army, you alone have not abandoned me "during the whole course of my ill fortune; "and in a little time, nothing but your fidelity "and constancy will be able to make me fancy my- "self a king. Deserters and traitors now govern "in my cities; not that they are thought worthy "of the honour bestowed on them, but that the "rewards which are given them may tempt you "to follow their example, and stagger your per- "severance. You have, however, still chosen to "follow my fortune rather than that of the con- "queror, for which you certainly have merited a

A. M. 3674. Ant. J. C. 330.

[a] Diod. l. xvii. p. 540—546. Arrian. l. iii. p. 133—137. Plut. in Alex. p. 689. Q. Curt. l. v. c. 8—14. Justin. l. xi. c. 15.

"recompence from the gods; and do not doubt "but they will prove beneficent towards you, in "case that power is denied me. With such sol- "diers and officers I would brave, without the least "dread, the enemy, how formidable soever he "may be. What! would any one have me sur- "render myself up to the mercy of the conqueror, "and expect from him, as a reward of my baseness "and meanness of spirit, the government of some "province which he may condescend to leave me? "No—It never shall be in the power of any man, "either to take away, or fix upon my head, the "diadem I wear; the same hour shall put a period "to my reign and life. If you have all the same "courage and resolution, which I can no ways "doubt, I will engage that you shall retain your "liberty, and not be exposed to the pride and in- "sults of the Macedonians. You have in your "hands the means either to revenge or terminate "all your evils." Having ended his speech, the whole body of soldiers replied with shouts, that they were ready to follow him whithersoever he should go, and would shed the last drop of their blood in his defence.

Such was the resolution of the soldiery; but Nabarzanes, one of the greatest lords of Persia, and general of the horse, had conspired with Bessus, general of the Bactrians, to commit the blackest of all crimes, to seize upon the person of the king, and lay him in chains; which they might easily do, as each of them had a great number of soldiers under his command. Their design was, if Alexander should pursue them, to secure themselves, by giving up Darius alive into his hands; and, in case they escaped, to murder that prince, and afterwards usurp his crown, and begin a new war. These traitors soon won over the troops, by representing to them, that they were going to their destruction; that they would soon be crushed under the ruins of an empire which was just ready to fall;

at the same time that Bactriana was open to them, and offered them immense riches. Though these intrigues were carried on very secretly, they came however to the ear of Darius, who could not believe them. Patron, who commanded the Greeks, entreated him, but in vain, to pitch his tent among them, and to trust the guard of his person to men on whose fidelity he might depend. Darius could not prevail with himself to put so great an affront upon the Persians, and therefore made answer: "That it would be a less affliction to him to be "deceived by, than to condemn them: that he "would suffer the worst of evils amidst those of his "own nation, rather than seek for security among "strangers, how faithful and affectionate soever he "might believe them: and that he could not but "die too late, in case the Persian soldiers thought "him unworthy of life." It was not long before Darius experienced the truth of this information; for the traitors seized him, bound him in chains of gold, by way of honour, as he was a king, and then laying him in a covered chariot, they set out towards Bactriana.

Alexander being arrived at Ecbatana, was informed that Darius had left that city five days before. He then commanded Parmenio to lay up all the treasures of Persia in the castle of Ecbatana, under a strong guard which he left there. According to [o] Strabo, these treasures amounted to a hundred and eighty thousand talents (about twenty-seven millions sterling); and, according to [p] Justin, to ten thousand talents (about fifteen hundred thousand pounds) more. He ordered him to march afterwards towards Hyrcania, by the country of the Cadusians, with the Thracians, the foreigners, and the rest of the cavalry, the royal companies excepted. He sent orders to Clitus, who staid behind in Susa, where he lay sick, that as soon as he was

[o] Strab. l. xv. p. 741. [p] Justin. l. xii. c. 1.

arrived at Ecbatana, he should take the forces which were left in that city, and come to him in Parthia.

Alexander, with the rest of his army, pursued Darius, and arrived the eleventh day at * Rhages, which is a long day's journey from the Caspian straits: but Darius had already passed through them. Alexander now despairing to overtake him, what dispatch soever he might make, staid there five days to rest his forces. He then marched against the Parthians, and the first day pitched his camp near the Caspian straits, and passed them the next. News was soon brought him, that Darius had been seized by the traitors; that Bessus had caused him to be drawn in a chariot, and had sent the unhappy monarch before, in order to be the surer of his person; that the whole army obeyed that wretch, Artabazus and the Greeks excepted, who not having a soul base enough to consent to so abominable a deed, and being too weak to prevent it, had therefore left the high road, and marched towards the mountains.

This was a fresh motive for him to hasten his march. The barbarians at his arrival were seized with dread; though the match would not have been equal, had Bessus been as resolute for fighting as for putting in execution the detestable act above-mentioned: for his troops exceeded the enemy both in number and strength, and were all cool and ready for the combat; whereas Alexander's troops were quite fatigued with the length of their march. But the name and reputation of Alexander (a motive all-powerful in war) filled them with such terror, that they all fled. Bessus and his accomplices being come up with Darius, requested him to mount his horse, and fly from the enemy; but he replied that the gods were ready to avenge the evils he had suffered; and beseeching Alexander to do him justice, he refused to follow a band of

* This is the city mentioned in Tobit, iii. 7.

traitors. At these words they fell into such a fury, that throwing their darts at him, they left him covered with wounds. After having perpetrated this horrid crime, they separated, in order to leave different footsteps of their flight, and thereby elude the pursuit of the enemy, in case he should follow them; or at least oblige him to divide his forces. Nabarzanes took the way of Hyrcania, and Bessus that of Bactriana, both being followed by a very few horsemen; and, as the barbarians were by this means destitute of leaders, they dispersed themselves up and down, as fear or hope directed their steps.

After searching about in different places, Darius was at last found, in a retired spot, his body run through with spears, lying in a chariot, and drawing near his end. However, he had strength enough before he died to call for drink, which a Macedonian, named Polystratus, brought him. He had with him a Persian prisoner, whom he employed as interpreter. Darius, after drinking the liquor that had been given him, turned to the Macedonian and said, "That in the deplorable state to which he was reduced, he however should have the comfort to "speak to one who could understand him, and that "his last words would not be lost. He therefore "charged him to tell Alexander, that he died in his "debt, without having had the power of returning "his obligations: that he gave him infinite thanks "for the great kindness he had shown towards "his mother, his wife, and his children, not only "sparing their lives, but permitting them to con- "tinue in their former splendour: that he be- "sought the gods to give victory to his arms, and "make him monarch of the universe: that he "thought he need not entreat him to revenge the "execrable murder committed on his person, as "this was the common cause of kings."

After this, taking Polystratus by the hand, "Give him (said he) thy hand, as I give thee mine; "and carry him, in my name, the only pledge I am

"able to give of my gratitude and affection." Saying these words, he breathed his last. Alexander coming up a moment after, and seeing Darius's body, wept bitterly; and, by the strongest testimonies of grief that could be shown, proved how intimately he was affected with the unhappiness of a prince who deserved a better fate. He immediately pulled off his military cloak, and threw it on Darius's body; then causing it to be embalmed, and his coffin to be adorned with a royal magnificence, he sent it to Sysigambis, in order that it might be interred with the honours usually paid to the deceased Persian monarchs, and be entombed with his ancestors.

A. M. 3674. Ant. J. C. 330. Thus died Darius, the third year of the 112th Olympiad, at about fifty years of age, six of which he had reigned. He was a gentle and pacific prince; his reign, with the exception of the death of Caridemus, having been unsullied with injustice or cruelty, which was owing either to his natural lenity, or to his not having had an opportunity of acting otherwise, from the perpetual war in which he had been engaged against Alexander ever since his accession to the throne. In him the Persian empire ended, after having existed two hundred and six years, computing from the beginning of the reign of Cyrus the Great (the founder of it) under thirteen kings, *viz.* Cyrus, Cambyses, Smerdis the Magian, Darius son of Hystaspes, Xerxes I., Artaxerxes Longimanus, Xerxes II., Sogdianus, Darius Nothus, Artaxerxes Mnemon, Artaxerxes Ochus, Arses, and Darius Codomanus.

SECT. XI. *Vices which first caused the decline, and at last the ruin of the Persian empire.*

THE death of Darius Codomanus may very justly be considered as the æra, but not as the sole cause, of the destruction of the Persian monarchy. When

we take a general view of the history of the kings above-mentioned, and consider with some attention their different characters and methods of governing, whether in peace or war, we easily perceive that this decline was prepared at a great distance, and carried on to its end by visible steps which denoted a total ruin.

We may declare at first sight, that the declension of the Persian empire and its fall, are owing to its very origin and primitive institution. It had been formed by the union of two nations, who differed very much in manners and inclinations. The Persians were a sober, laborious, modest people; but the Medes were wholly devoted to pomp, luxury, softness, and voluptuousness. The example of frugality and simplicity which Cyrus had set them, and their being obliged to be always under arms to gain so many victories, and support themselves in the midst of so many enemies, prevented those vices from spreading for some time: but when all was subdued and in subjection to them, the fondness which the Medes had naturally for pleasures and magnificence, soon lessened the temperance of the Persians, and became in a little time, the prevailing taste of the two nations.

Several other causes conspired to this. Babylon, when conquered, intoxicated her victors with her poisoned cup, and enchanted them with the charms of pleasure. She furnished them with such ministers and instruments, as were adapted to promote luxury, and to foment and cherish voluptuousness with art and delicacy; and the wealth of the richest provinces in the world, being at the entire disposal of new sovereigns, they thereby were enabled to satiate all their desires.

Even Cyrus himself, as I have observed elsewhere, contributed to this, without foreseeing the consequences of it; and prepared men's minds for it by the splendid festival which he gave, after having ended his conquests; at which he showed him-

self in the midst of his troops, who had shared in his victories, with such a pomp and ostentation as were most capable of dazzling the eye. He first inspired them with an admiration for pomp and show, which they had hitherto despised. He suggested to them, that magnificence and riches were worthy of crowning the most glorious exploits, and the end and fruit of them: and by thus inspiring his subjects with a strong desire for things they saw so highly esteemed by a most accomplished prince, his example authorized them to abandon themselves to that inclination without reserve.

He spread this evil still farther by obliging his judges, officers, and governors of provinces, to appear with splendour before the people, the better to represent the majesty of the prince. On one side, these magistrates and commanders easily mistook these ornaments and trappings of their employments for the most essential parts of them, endeavouring to distinguish themselves by nothing but this glittering outside: and, on the other, men of the greatest wealth in the provinces proposed them as so many patterns for their imitation, and were soon followed by persons of moderate fortune, whom those in the lowest stations of life strove to equal.

So many causes of degeneracy uniting together, and being authorized publicly, soon destroyed the ancient virtue of the Persians. They did not sink, like the Romans, by imperceptible decays, which had been long foreseen and often opposed. Scarce was Cyrus dead, but there rose up as it were another nation, and kings of a quite different genius and character. Mention was no longer made of that manly, that severe education which was bestowed on the Persian youth; of those public schools of sobriety, patience, and emulation for virtue, nor of those laborious and warlike exercises; of all these there did not remain the smallest traces; their young men being brought up in splendour and effeminacy, which they now saw was had in honour,

immediately began to despise the happy simplicity of their forefathers, and formed, in the space of one generation, an entire new set of people, whose manners, inclinations, and maxims, were directly opposite to those of ancient times. They grew haughty, vain, effeminate, inhuman, and perfidious in treaties; and acquired this peculiar character, that they, of all people, were the most abandoned to splendour, luxury, feasting, and even to drunkenness; so that we may affirm, that the empire of the Persians was almost at its birth, what other empires became through length of time alone, and began where others end. It bore the principle of its destruction in its own bosom, and this internal vice increased in every successive reign.

After the unsuccessful expeditions of Darius and Xerxes against Scythia and Greece, the princes their successors became insensible to the ambition of making conquests, and gave themselves up a prey to idleness and effeminacy; they grew careless of military discipline, and substituted in the place of regular soldiers, inured to the toils of war, a confused multitude of men, who were taken by force out of their respective countries. The reader may have observed, on more than one occasion, that the whole strength, and almost the only resource of the Persian army, lay in the Greeks whom they retained in their service: that, properly speaking, they depended on them only, and always took great care to oppose them to the best troops of the enemy: they were the only soldiers in Darius's army who performed their duty, and continued faithful to him to the last; and we have seen that Memnon the Rhodian was the sole great general who made head against Alexander.

Instead of choosing for the command of their forces officers of skill and experience, they used to appoint persons of the greatest quality of every nation, who frequently had no other merit than their exalted birth, their riches and credit; and who were distinguished by nothing but the sumptuousness of

their feasts and entertainments, by the magnificence of their equipages, and by the crowd with which they were ever surrounded, of guards, domestics, eunuchs, and women; such an assemblage, formed merely for vain show and ostentation, rather than for warlike expeditions, encumbered an army (already but too numerous) with useless soldiers, made it slow in its marches and movements by its too heavy baggage, and rendered it incapable of subsisting long in a country, and of following up great enterprises in sight of an enemy.

The Persian monarchs shutting themselves up in their palaces in order to abandon themselves to pleasures, and appearing seldom abroad, placed their whole confidence, and by that means all their authority, in eunuchs, in women, in slaves, and in flattering courtiers, whose sole thoughts and endeavours were to banish true merit, which was offensive to them; to give the rewards appointed for services to their own creatures; and to intrust the greatest employments of the state to persons devoted to their interested and ambitious views, rather than to such whose abilities rendered them capable of serving their country.

Another characteristic of these princes, which is but too frequent in that high sphere, contributed very much to the ruin of the empire. They were accustomed from their infancy to have their ears soothed with false praises and the most extravagant compliments, and to have a blind submission paid to their will. They were educated in so exalted an idea of their own grandeur, that they readily persuaded themselves that the rest of men were formed merely to serve them, and administer to their pleasures. They were not taught their duties, nor the maxims of a wise and good government; the principles by which men should judge of solid merit, and select persons able to govern under them. They did not know that they were raised to sovereign power merely to protect their subjects and make them

happy. They were not made sensible of the exquisite pleasure that a monarch feels, who is the delight of his subjects, and the public source of the felicity of so vast an empire, as Cyrus the Great had been, who was so dear to his people, that every individual family considered him as their father, and bewailed his death as a public calamity. So far from this, a monarch's grandeur was declared to consist in making himself feared, and in his being able to gratify all his passions with impunity.

So ill judged an education must necessarily form either weak or vicious princes. They were not able to sustain the weight of so mighty an empire, nor to grasp the several parts of so extensive and laborious an administration. Idleness, and a love for pleasure, made them careless and averse to business; and they sacrificed matters of the highest importance to their vain amusements. Some of them were born with such happy dispositions, that they would have become good princes, had they not been enervated by the charms of a voluptuous life; and abandoned themselves to the allurements of a too despotic power, and an over great prosperity. By flattery, they were rendered incapable of listening, in their counsels, to any expressions delivered with freedom, or of suffering the least opposition to their wills.

It is no wonder they were not beloved by their subjects, since their whole study was to aggrandize themselves and to sacrifice all considerations to that alone. Darius, in his misfortunes, was abandoned by the generals of his armies, by the governors of his provinces, by his officers, domestics, and subjects; and did not find any where a sincere affection, nor a real attachment to his person and interest. The dazzling splendour of the Persian monarchy concealed a real weakness; and this unwieldy power, heightened by so much pomp and pride, had no support in the hearts of the people; so that this Colossus, at the very first blow, fell to the ground.

SECT. XII. *Lacedæmon revolts from the Macedonians, with almost all Peloponnesus. Antipater marches out on this occasion, defeats the enemy in a battle, in which Agis is killed. Alexander marches against Bessus. Thalestris, queen of the Amazons, comes to visit him from a far country. Alexander, at his return from Parthia, abandons himself to pleasure and excess. He continues his march against Bessus. A pretended conspiracy of Philotas against the king. He, and Parmenio his father, are put to death. Alexander subdues several nations. He at last arrives in Bactriana, whither Bessus is brought to him.*

A. M. 3674. Ant. J. C. 330. [q]WHILST things passed in Asia as we have seen, some tumults broke out in Greece and Macedonia. Memnon, whom Alexander had sent into Thrace, having revolted there, and thereby drawn the forces of Antipater on that side; the Lacedæmonians thought this a proper opportunity to throw off the Macedonian yoke, and engaged almost all Peloponnesus in their design. Upon this news, Antipater, after having settled to the best of his power the affairs of Thrace, returned with the utmost expedition into Greece, whence he immediately dispatched couriers, in order to give Alexander an account of these several transactions. As soon as Antipater was come up with the enemy, he resolved to give them battle. The Lacedæmonian army consisted of no more than twenty thousand foot and two thousand horse, under the command of Agis their king; whereas that of Antipater was twice that number. Agis, in order to make the

[q] Diod. l. xvii. p. 537. Q. Curt. l. vi. c. 1.

superiority of numbers of no effect, had made choice of a narrow spot of ground. The battle began with great vigour, each party endeavouring to signalize themselves in an extraordinary manner for the honour of their respective countries; the one fired with the remembrance of their pristine glory, and the other animated by their present greatness, fought with equal courage; the Lacedæmonians for liberty, and the Macedonians for empire. So long as the armies continued on the spot where the battle began, Agis had the advantage; but Antipater, by pretending to fly, drew the enemy into the plains; after which, extending his whole army, he gained a superiority, and made a proper use of his advantage. Agis was distinguished by his suit of armour, his noble mien, and still more so by his valour. The battle was hottest round his person, and he himself performed the most astonishing acts of bravery. At last, after having been wounded in several parts of his body, his soldiers carried him off upon his shield. However, this did not damp their courage; for having seized an advantageous post, where they kept close to their ranks, they resisted with great vigour the attacks of the enemy. After having withstood them a long time, the Lacedæmonians began to give ground, being scarce able to hold their arms, which were all covered with sweat; they afterwards retired very fast, and at last ran quite away. The king, seeing himself closely pursued, still made some efforts, notwithstanding the weak condition to which he was reduced, in order to oppose the enemy. Intrepid and invincible to the last, oppressed by numbers, he died sword in hand.

In this engagement upwards of three thousand Lacedæmonians lost their lives, and a thousand Macedonians at most; but very few of the latter returned home unwounded. This victory not only ruined the power of Sparta and its allies, but also the hopes of those who only waited the issue of this war, to declare themselves. Antipater immediately

sent the news of this success to Alexander: but, like an experienced courtier, he drew up the account of it in the most modest and circumspect terms; and such as were best adapted to diminish the lustre of a victory which might expose him to envy. He was sensible that Alexander's delicacy on the point of honour, was so very great, that he looked upon the glory which another person obtained, as a diminution of his own. And * indeed he could not forbear, when this news was brought him, to let drop some words which discovered his jealousy. Antipater did not dare to dispose of any thing by his own private authority, and only gave the Lacedæmonians leave to send an embassy to the king, in order that they themselves might learn their fate from his own mouth. Alexander pardoned them, some of those who had occasioned the revolt excepted, and these he punished.

[r] Darius's death did not hinder Alexander from pursuing Bessus, who had withdrawn into Bactriana, where he had assumed the title of king, by the name of Artaxerxes. But, finding at last that it would be impossible for him to come up with him, he returned into Parthia; and resting his troops some days in Hecatompylos, commanded provisions to be brought thither from all quarters.

During his stay there, a report prevailed throughout the whole army, that the king, content with the conquests he had achieved, was preparing to return into Macedonia. That very instant the soldiers, as if a signal had been made for their setting out, ran like madmen to their tents, began to pack up their baggage, load the waggons with the utmost dispatch, and fill the whole camp with noise and tumult. The noise soon reached the ears of Alex-

[r] Q. Curt. lib. vi. c. 2—4.

* *Alexander hostes vinci voluerat: Antipatrum vicisse, ne tacitus quidem indignabatur, suæ demptum gloriæ existimans, quicquid cessisset alienæ.* Q. CURT.

ander, when terrified at the disorder, he summoned the officers to his tent, where, with tears in his eyes, he complained, that in the midst of so glorious a career, he was stopped on a sudden, and forced to return back into his own country, rather like one who had been overcome, than as a conqueror. The officers comforted him, by representing, that this sudden motion was a mere sally, and a transient gust of passion, which would not be attended with any ill consequences; and assured him, that the soldiers, to a man, would obey him, provided he himself would address them but with mildness and tenderness. He promised to do it. The circumstance which had given occasion to this false report, was his having disbanded some Grecian soldiers, after rewarding them in a very bountiful manner; so that the Macedonians imagined they also were to fight no more.

Alexander having summoned the army, made the following speech: "I am not surprised, O soldiers, "if, after the mighty things we have hitherto per- "formed, you should be satiated with glory, and "have no other views but ease and repose. I will "not now enumerate the various nations we have "conquered. We have subdued more provinces "than others have cities. Could I persuade my- "self, that our conquests were well secured, over "nations who were so soon overcome, I would "think as you do (for I will not dissemble my "thoughts) and would make all the haste ima- "ginable to revisit my household-gods, my mother, "my sisters, and my subjects, and enjoy in the "midst of my country the glory I have acquired in "concert with you. But this glory will all vanish "very soon, if we do not put the last hand to the "work. Do you imagine, that so many nations, "accustomed to other sovereigns, and who have no "manner of agreement with us either in their reli- "gion, manners, or language, were entirely subdued "the moment they were conquered; and that they

" will not take up arms, in case we return back with " so much precipitation? What will become of the " rest who still remain unconquered? What! shall " we leave our victory imperfect, merely for want " of courage? But that which touches me much " more; shall we suffer the detestable crime of " Bessus to go unpunished? Can you bear to see the " sceptre of Darius transferred to the sanguinary " hands of that monster, who, after having loaded " him with chains, as a captive, at last assasinat- " ed his sovereign, in order to deprive us of the " glory of saving him? As for myself I shall not " be easy till I see that infamous wretch hanging " on a gibbet, there to pay, to all kings and nations " of the earth, the just punishment due to his ex- " crable crime. I do not know whether I am " mistaken; but methinks I read his sentence of " death in your countenances; and that the an- " ger which sparkles in your eyes, declares you " will soon imbrue your hands in that trator's " blood."

The soldiers would not suffer Alexander to proceed; but clapping their hands, they all cried aloud, that they were ready to follow wherever he would lead them. All the speeches of this prince generally produced this effect. How desponding soever they might be, one single word from him revived their courage in an instant, and inspired them with that martial alacrity and ardour, which appeared always in his face. The king, taking advantage of this favourable disposition of the whole army, crossed Parthia, and in three days arrived on the frontiers of Hyrcania, which submitted to his arms. He afterwards subdued the Mardi, the Arii, the Drangæ, the Arachosii, and several other nations, into which his army marched, with greater speed than people generally travel. He frequently would pursue an enemy for whole days and nights together, almost without suffering his troops to take any rest. By this prodigious rapidity, he

came unawares upon nations who thought him still at a great distance, and subdued them before they had time to put themselves in a posture of defence. Under this image Daniel the prophet designated Alexander many ages before his birth, by representing him as a panther, a leopard, and a he-goat, who rushed forward with so much swiftness, that his feet seemed not to touch the ground.

[s] Nabarzanes, one of Bessus's accomplices, who had written before to Alexander, came and surrendered himself, upon promise of a pardon, when he heard that he was arrived at Zadracarta, the capital of Hyrcania; and, among other presents, brought him Bagoas the eunuch, who afterwards gained great influence over the mind of Alexander, as he had formerly over that of Darius.

At the same time arrived Thalestris, queen of the Amazons. A violent desire of seeing Alexander had prompted that princess to leave her dominions, and travel through a great number of countries to gratify her curiosity. Being come pretty near his camp, she sent word that a queen was come to visit him; and that she had a prodigious inclination to cultivate his acquaintance, and accordingly was arrived within a little distance from that place. Alexander having returned her a favourable answer, she commanded her train to stop, and herself came forward with three hundred women; and the moment she perceived the king, she leaped from her horse, having two lances in her right hand. The dress the Amazons used to wear, did not quite cover the body; for their bosom was uncovered on the left side, while every other part of their body was hid; except that their gowns being tucked up with a knot, fell down no farther than the knee. They preserved their left breast to suckle their female offspring, but used to burn their right, that they might be the better enabled to bend the

[s] Q. Curt. lib. vi. cap. 5.

bow and throw the dart, whence they were called * *Amazons*

Thalestris † looked upon the king without discovering the least sign of admiration, and surveying him attentively, did not think his stature answerable to his fame; for the barbarians are very much struck with a majestic air, and think those only capable of mighty achievements, on whom nature has bestowed bodily advantages. She did not scruple to tell him, that the chief motive of her journey was to have posterity by him; adding, that she thought herself worthy of giving heirs to his empire. Alexander, upon this request, was obliged to make some stay in this place; after which Thalestris returned to her own kingdom, and the king, into the province inhabited by the Parthians. This story, and whatever is related of the Amazons, is looked upon by some very judicious authors as entirely fabulous.

[t] Alexander abandoned himself afterwards wholly to his passions, changing into pride and excess the moderation and continence for which he had hitherto been so greatly admired; virtues so very necessary in an exalted station of life, and in the midst of a series of prosperities. He now was no longer the same man. Though he was invincible with regard to the dangers and toils of war, he was far otherwise with respect to the charms of ease. The instant he enjoyed a little repose, he abandoned himself to sensuality; and he, whom the arms of the Persians could not conquer, fell a victim to their vices. Nothing was now to be seen but games, parties of pleasure, women, and disorderly banquets,

[t] Q. Curt. lib. vi. cap. 6.

* This is a Greek word, signifying *without breasts.*

† *Interrito vultu regem Thalestris intuebatur, habitum ejus haudquaquam rerum famæ parem oculis perlustrans. Quippe omnibus barbaris in corporum majestate veneratio est; magnorumque operum non alios capaces putant, quàm quos eximiâ specie donare natura dignata est.* Q. Curt. lib. vi. cap. 5.

in which he used to pass whole days and nights in drinking. Not satisfied with the buffoons, and the performers on instrumental music, whom he had brought with him out of Greece, he obliged the captive women, whom he carried along with him, to sing songs after the manner of their country. He happened, among these women, to perceive one who appeared in deeper affliction than the rest, and who, by a modest, and at the same time a dignified confusion, discovered a greater reluctance than the others to appear in public. She was a perfect beauty, which was very much heightened by her bashfulness, whilst she threw her eyes to the ground, and did all in her power to conceal her face. The king soon imagined by her air and mien that she was not of vulgar birth; and enquiring of the lady herself, she answered that she was grand-daughter to Ochus, who not long before had swayed the Persian sceptre, and daughter of his son; that she had married Hystapes, who was related to Darius, and general of a great army. Alexander being touched with compassion at the unhappy fate of a princess of the blood royal, and the sad condition to which she was reduced, not only gave her liberty, but reinstated her in all her possessions, and caused her husband to be sought for, in order that she might be restored to him.

This prince was naturally of a tender and humane disposition, which made him sensible of the affliction of persons in the lowest condition. [u] A poor Macedonian was one day driving before him a mule laden with gold for the king's use; the beast being so tired that he was not able either to go on or sustain the load, the mule-driver took it up and carried it, but with great difficulty, a considerable way. Alexander, seeing him just sinking under his burthen, and going to throw it on the ground, in order to ease himself, cried out, "Friend, do not be weary

[u] Plut. in Alex. p. 687.

"yet; try and carry it quite through to thy tent, "for it is all thy own."

[x] Alexander, in a forced march through a barren country, at the head of a small body of horse, when he was pursuing Darius, met some Macedonians who were carrying water in goat-skins upon mules. These Macedonians perceiving their prince was almost parched with thirst occasioned by the raging heat (the sun being then at the meridian) immediately filled a helmet with water, and were running to present him with it. Alexander asking to whom they were carrying that water, they replied, "We "were going to carry it to our children, but do not "let your majesty be uneasy, for if your life is but "saved, we shall get children enough, in case we "should lose these." At these words Alexander takes the helmet, and looking quite round him, he saw all his horsemen hanging down their heads, and, with eyes fixed earnestly on the liquor he held, swallowing it, as it were, with their glances: upon which he returned it, with thanks, to those who offered it him, and did not drink so much as a single drop, but cried, "There is not enough for my "whole company; and should I drink alone, it "would make the rest be thirstier, and they would "die with faintness and fatigue." The officers, who were on horseback round him, struck in the most sensible manner with his wonderful temperance and magnanimity, entreated him with shouts to carry them wherever he thought fit, and not to spare them; that they were not in the least tired, nor felt the least thirst; and that as long as they should be commanded by such a king, they could not think themselves mortal men.

Such sentiments as these, which arise from a generous and tender disposition, reflect greater honour on a prince than all his victories and conquests. Had Alexander always retained them, he

[x] Plut. in Alex. p. 687.

would justly have merited the title of *Great;* but a too brilliant and uninterrupted series of prosperity, which is a burthen too heavy for mortals to sustain, insensibly effaced them from his mind, and made him forget that he was a man: for now, contemning the customs of his own country, as no longer worthy the sovereign of the universe, he laid aside the dress, the manners, and way of life of the Macedonian monarchs; looking upon them as too plain and simple, and derogatory to his grandeur. He even went so far as to imitate the pomp of the Persian kings, in that very circumstance in which they seemed to equal themselves to the gods; I mean, by requiring those who had conquered nations to fall prostrate at his feet, and pay him a kind of homage which becomes only slaves. He had turned his palace into a seraglio, filling it with three hundred and sixty concubines, (the same number as Darius kept,) and with bands of eunuchs, of all mankind the most infamous. Not satisfied with wearing a Persian robe himself, he also obliged his generals, his friends, and all the grandees of his court, to put on the same dress, which gave them the greatest mortification, not one of them however daring to speak against this innovation, or contradict the prince.

The veteran soldiers, who had fought under Philip, not having the least idea of sensuality, inveighed publicly against this prodigious luxury, and the numerous vices which the army had learned in Susa and Ecbatana. The soldiers would frequently complain: "That they had lost more "by victory than they had gained: that as the "Macedonians had thus assumed the manners and "customs of foreigners, they might properly be "said to be conquered: that therefore the only "benefit they should reap from their long absence, "would be, to return back into their country in "the habit of barbarians: that Alexander was "ashamed of, and despised them; that he chose to

"resemble the vanquished rather than the victo-
"rious; and that he, who had before been king of
"Macedonia, was now become one of Darius's
"lieutenants."

The king was not ignorant of the discontent which reigned both in his court and army, and endeavoured to recover the esteem and friendship of both by his beneficence; but * slavery, though purchased at ever so high a rate, must necessarily be odious to freeborn men. He therefore thought, that the safest remedy would be to employ them; and for that purpose led them against Bessus. But as the army was so encumbered with booty and an useless train of baggage, that it could scarce move, he first caused all his own baggage to be carried into a great square and afterwards that of the army (retaining only such things as were absolutely necessary); and then ordered the whole to be carried from thence in carts to a large plain. Every one was in great pain to know the meaning of all this; but after he had sent away the horses, he set fire to his own things, and commanded every one to follow his example. Upon this the Macedonians lighted up the fire with their own hands, and burnt the rich spoils they had purchased with their blood, and often forced out of the midst of the flames. Such a sacrifice must certainly have been made with the utmost reluctance; but the example the king set them silenced all their complaints, and they seemed less affected at the loss of their baggage than at their neglect of military discipline. A short speech the king made, soothed all their uneasiness; and being now more able to exert themseves hereafter, they set out with joy, and marched towards Bactriana. In this march they met with difficulties which would have quite damped any one but Alexander: but nothing could daunt his soul, or check his progress; for he put the strongest confidence in his good for-

* *Sed, ut opinor, liberis pretium servitutis ingratum est.* Q. CURT.

tune, which indeed never forsook that hero, but extricated him from a thousand perils, wherein one would have naturally supposed both himself and his army must have perished.

[y] Being arrived among the Drangæ, a danger to which he had not been accustomed gave him very great uneasiness; and this was, the report of a conspiracy that was formed against his person. One Dymnus, a man of no figure at court, was the contriver of this treason; and the motive of it was, some private disgust which he had received. He had communicated his design to a young man named Nicomachus, who revealed it to Cebalinus, his brother. The latter immediately discovered it to Philotas, earnestly entreating him to acquaint the king with it, because every moment was of the utmost consequence, and the conspirators were to execute the horrid deed in three days. Philotas, after applauding his fidelity, waited immediately upon the king, and discoursed on a great variety of subjects, but without taking the least notice of the plot. In the evening Cebalinus meeting him as he was coming out, and asking whether he had done as he had requested, he answered, that he had not found an opportunity of mentioning it to his majesty, and went away. The next day this young man went up to him as he was going into the palace, and conjured him not to forget what he had told him the day before. Philotas replied, that he would be sure not to forget it; but however did not perform his promise. This made Cebalinus suspect him; and fearing, that in case the conspiracy should be discovered by any other person, his silence would be interpreted as criminal, he therefore got another person to disclose it to Alexander. The prince having heard the whole from Cebalinus himself, and being told how earn-

[y] Diod. l. xvii. p. 550, 551. Q. Curt. l. vi. c. 7, 11. & l. vii. c. 1, 2. Arrian. l. iii. p. 141, 142. Plut. in Alex. p. 692, 693.

estly he had conjured Philotas to acquaint him with it, first commanded Dymnus to be brought before him. The latter guessing upon what account he was sent for by the king, ran himself through with his sword; but the guards having prevented him from completing the deed, he was carried to the palace. The king asked him why he thought Philotas more worthy than he was of the kingdom of Macedon? but he was quite speechless: so that, after fetching a deep sigh, he turned his head aside, and breathed his last.

The king afterwards sent for Philotas, and (having first commanded every one to withdraw), enquired whether Cebalinus had really urged him several times to tell him of a plot which was carrying on against him. Philotas, without discovering the least confusion in his countenance, confessed ingenuously that he had; but made his apology, by saying, that the person who had given him information, did not appear to him worthy of the least credit. He confessed, however, that Dymnus's death convinced him that he had acted very imprudently, in concealing so long a design of so black a nature: upon which, acknowledging his fault, he fell at the king's feet; and embracing them, besought him to consider his past life, rather than the fault he had now committed, which did not proceed from any bad design, but from the fear he was under of unseasonably alarming the king, should he communicate a design which he really supposed was without foundation. It is no easy matter to say whether Alexander believed what Philotas said, or only dissembled his anger. But however this be, he gave him his hand in token of reconciliation; and told him, that he was persuaded he had despised rather than concealed the affair.

Philotas was both envied and hated by a great number of courtiers; and indeed it was hardly possible it should be otherwise, because none of them was more familiar with the king, or more esteemed

by him. Instead of softening and moderating the lustre of the distinguished favour he enjoyed, by an air of mildness and humanity, and a prudent modesty of demeanour; he seemed, on the contrary, to endeavour only to excite the envy of others, by affecting a silly pride, which generally displayed itself in his dress, his retinue, his equipage, and his table; and still more so, by the haughty airs he assumed, which made him universally hated. Parmenio, his father, disgusted at his supercilious behaviour, said one day to him, * *My son, make thyself less.* The strongest sense is couched under these words; and it is evident, that the man who uttered them was perfectly acquainted with the genius of courts. He used often to give Philotas advice to this effect: but too exalted a prosperity is apt to make men both deaf and blind; and they cannot persuade themselves that favour, which is established on so seemingly solid a foundation, can ever change; the contrary of which Philotas found to his sorrow.

[z] His former conduct, with regard to Alexander, had given the king just reason to complain of him; for he used to take the liberty to speak disrespectfully of his sovereign, and applaud himself in the most haughty terms. Opening one day his heart to a woman named Antigona, with whom he was in love, he began to boast, in a very insolent manner, of his father's services and his own: "What "would Philip (said he) have been, had it not "been for Parmenio! and what would Alexander "be, were it not for Philotas? what would become "of his pretended divinity, and his father Ammon, "should we undertake to expose this fiction?" All these things were repeated to Alexander; and Antigona herself made oath, that such words had been spoken. The king had nevertheless taken no notice of all this, nor so much as once let drop the

[z] Plut. de Fortun. Alex. c. ii. p. 339.

* Ὦ παῖ, χείρων μοι γίνου.

least word which might show his resentment upon that account, whenever he was most intoxicated with liquor: he had not so much as hinted it to his friends, nor even to Hephæstion, from whom he scarce concealed any thing. But the crime Philotas was now accused of, recalled to his memory the disgust he had formerly entertained.

Immediately after the conversation he had with Philotas, he held a council composed of his chief confidents. Craterus, for whom Alexander had a great esteem, and who envied Philotas the more upon that very account, looked upon this as a very happy occasion for supplanting his rival. Concealing therefore his hatred, under a specious pretence of zeal, he suggested to the king, "The apprehen-
"sions he might justly be under, both from Philo-
"tas himself, because mercy is not apt to work any
"change on a heart which could be corrupt enough
"to entertain so detestable a crime; and from Par-
"menio, his father, who (said he) will never be able
"to bear the thoughts of his owing his son's life
"to the king's clemency. Some beneficial acts are
"so great, that they become a burden to those on
"whom they are conferred, for which reason they
"do all in their power to erase them from their
"memory. Besides, who can assure us, that both
"father and son are not engaged in the conspi-
"racy? When a prince's life is in danger, every
"thing is of importance; and all things, even to
"the slightest suspicions, are so many proofs. Can
"we conceive it possible, that a favourite on whom
"his sovereign has bestowed the most shining
"marks of his beneficence, should be calm and
"undisturbed, upon his being told an affair of
"such importance? But we are told, that this
"design was communicated by young people, who
"deserved very little credit. Wherefore then did
"he keep them in suspence two days, as if he
"really believed what they told him, and still pro-
"mised them that he would reveal the whole affair

" to the king? Who does not see, that he did this " merely to prevent their having access by another " way to his majesty? Sir (continued he) it is " necessary, for your own sake and that of the " state, that Philotas should be put to the torture; " in order to force from his own mouth an account " of this plot, and the several persons who are his " accomplices in it." This being the opinion of all the members of the council, the king acceded to it. He then dismissed the assembly, having first enjoined them secrecy; and the better to conceal his resolution, gave orders for the army's marching the next day, and even invited Philotas to supper with him.

In the beginning of the night, various parties of guards having been posted in the several places necessary, some entered the tent of Philotas, who was then in a deep sleep; when, starting from his slumbers, as they were putting manacles on his hands, he cried, " Alas! my sovereign, the inve- " teracy of my enemies has got the better of your " goodness." After this, they covered his face, and brought him to the palace without uttering a single word. The next morning, the Macedonians, according to an order published for that purpose, came thither under arms, in number about six thousand. It was a very ancient custom for the army, in time of war, to take cognizance of capital crimes; and, in times of peace, for the people to do so; so that the prince had no power on these occasions, unless a sanction were given to it by the consent of one or other of these bodies; and the king was forced to have recourse to * persuasion, before he employed his authority.

First, the body of Dymnus was brought out; very few then present knowing either what he had done, or how he came by his death. Afterwards the king

* *Nihil potestas regum valebat, nisi prius valuisset auctoritas,* Q. CURT.

came into the assembly; an air of sorrow appearing in his countenance, as well as in his whole court, while every one waited with impatience the issue of this gloomy scene. Alexander continued a long time with his eyes cast on the ground, as if in the utmost dejection; but at last, having recovered his spirits, he made the following speech: "I have "narrowly escaped, O soldiers, being torn from "you, by the treachery of a small number of "wretches; but by the providence and mercy of the "gods, I now again appear before you alive: and "I protest to you, that nothing encourages me "more to proceed against the traitors, than the "sight of this assembly, whose welfare is much "dearer to me than my own; for I desire to live "for your sakes only; and the greatest happiness "I should find in living (not to say the only one), "would be the pleasure I should receive in having "it in my power to reward the services of so many "brave men, to whom I owe every thing." Here he was interrupted by the cries and groans of the soldiers, who all burst into tears. "Alas! how "will you behave," continued he, "when I shall "name the persons who formed so execrable a "design? I myself cannot think of it without shud-"dering. They on whom I have been most lavish "of my kindnesses; on whom I have bestowed the "greatest marks of friendship; in whom I had put "my whole confidence, and in whose breasts I "lodged my greatest secrets—Parmenio and Phi-"lotas." At these names all the soldiers gazed one upon the other, not daring to believe their eyes or ears, nor to give credit to any thing they saw or heard. Then Nicomachus, Metron, and Cebalinus, were sent for, who made the several depositions of what they knew. But as not one of them charged Philotas with engaging in the plot, the whole assembly, being seized with a trouble and confusion easier conceived than expressed, continued in a sad and gloomy silence.

Philotas was then brought in, his hands tied behind him, and his head covered with a coarse, worn-out piece of cloth. How shocking a sight! Almost deprived of his senses, he did not dare to look up, or open his lips; but the tears streaming from his eyes, he fainted away in the arms of the man who held him. As the standers-by wiped off the tears in which his face was bathed, recovering his spirits and his voice by degrees, he seemed desirous of speaking, The king then told him, that he should be judged by the Macedonians, and withdrew. Philotas might have justified himself very easily; for not one of the witnesses, and those who had been put on the rack, had accused him of being an accomplice in the plot. Dymnus, who first formed it, had not named him to any of the conspirators; and had Philotas been concerned in it, and the ring-leader, as was pretended, Dymnus would certainly have named him, at the head of all the rest, in order to engage them the more strongly. Had Philotas been conscious to himself of guilt in this particular, as he was sensible that Cebalinus, who knew the whole, sought earnestly to acquaint the king with it, was it probable that he could have remained quiet two days together, without once endeavouring, either to dispatch Cebalinus, or to put his dark design in execution, which he might very easily have done? Philotas set these proofs, and a great many more, in the strongest light; and did not omit to mention the reasons which had made him despise the information that had been given him, as groundless and imaginary. Then directing himself, on a sudden, to Alexander, as if he had been present, "O king (says he) where-
" soever you may be," (for it is thought Alexander heard all that passed from behind a curtain,) " if
" I have committed a fault in not acquainting you
" with what I heard, I confessed it to you, and you
" pardoned me. You gave me your royal hand
" as a pledge of this; and you did me the honour
" to admit me at your table. If you believed me,

"I am innocent: if you pardoned me, I am clear-
"ed: I refer all this to your own judgment. What
"new crime have I committed since? I was in a
"deep sleep when my enemies waked me, and
"loaded me with chains. Is it natural for a man,
"who is conscious that he is guilty of the most
"horrid of all crimes, to be thus easy and undis-
"turbed? The innocence of my own conscience,
"and the promise your majesty made me, gave my
"mind this calm. Do not let the envy of my ene-
"mies prevail over your clemency and justice."

The result of this assembly was, that Philotas should be put on the rack. The persons who presided on that occasion were his most inveterate enemies, and they made him suffer every kind of torture. Philotas at first discovered the utmost resolution and strength of mind; the torments he suffered not being able to force from him a single word, nor even so much as a sigh. But at last, conquered by pain, he confessed himself to be guilty, named several accomplices, and even accused his own father. The next day, the answers of Philotas were read in full assembly, he himself being present. He was unanimously sentenced to die; immediately after which he was stoned, according to the custom of Macedonia, with some other of the conspirators.

They also judged at the same time, and put to death, Lyncestes Alexander, who had been found guilty of conspiring the death of the king, and had been kept three years in prison.

The condemnation of Philotas brought on that of Parmenio: whether it were that Alexander really believed him guilty, or was afraid of the father now he had put the son to death. Polydamas, one of the lords of the court, was appointed to see the execution performed. He had been one of Parmenio's most intimate friends, if we may give that name to courtiers, who love nothing but their own fortune. This was the very reason of his being nominated, because Parmenio could not entertain any suspicion of his being sent to him with such a design. He

therefore set out for Media, where that general commanded the army, and was intrusted with the king's treasures, which amounted to a hundred and fourscore thousand talents, about twenty-seven millions sterling. Alexander had given him several letters for Cleander, the king's lieutenant in the province; and for the principal officers. Two were for Parmenio; one of them from Alexander, and the other sealed with Philotas's seal, as if he had been alive, to prevent the father from harbouring the least suspicion. Polydamas was but eleven days on his journey, and alighted in the night-time at the house of Cleander. After having taken all the precautions necessary, they went together with a great number of attendants, to meet Parmenio, who at this time was walking in a park of his own. The moment Polydamas spied him, though at a great distance, he ran to embrace him with an air of the utmost joy; and after compliments, intermixed with the strongest indications of friendship, had passed on both sides, he gave him Alexander's letter. In the opening it, he asked him what the king was doing; to which Polydamas replied, that he would know by his majesty's letter. Parmenio, after perusing it, said: "The king is preparing to march against the Ara-"chosii. How glorious a prince is this, who will "not suffer himself to take a moment's rest! How-"ever, he ought to be a little tender of himself, "now he has acquired so much glory." He afterwards opened the letter which was written in Philotas's name; and, by his countenance, seemed pleased with the contents of it. At that very instant Cleander thrust a dagger into his side, then made another thrust in his throat; and the rest gave him several wounds, even after he was dead.

Thus this great man ended his life; a man illustrious both in peace and war; who had performed many glorious actions without the king, whereas the king had never achieved any thing conspicuous, but in concert with Parmenio. He was a person

of great abilities, both in forming plans and carrying them into execution; was very dear to the grandees, and much more so to the officers and soldiers, who reposed the highest confidence in him; and looked upon themselves as assured of victory when he was at their head, so firmly they relied on his capacity and good fortune. He was then threescore and ten years of age; and had always served his sovereign with inviolable fidelity and zeal, for which he was very ill rewarded; his son and himself having been put to death, merely on a slight suspicion, unsupported by any real proof, which nevertheless obliterated in a moment all the great services both had done their country.

A. M. 3675. Ant. J. C. 329. [a] Alexander was sensible, that such cruel executions might alienate the affections of the troops, of which he had a proof, by the letters they sent into Macedonia, which were intercepted by his order; concluding, therefore, that it would be proper for him to separate from the rest of the army such soldiers as had most distinguished themselves by their murmurs and complaints, lest their seditious discourses should spread the same spirit of discontent, he formed a separate body of these, the command of which he gave to Leonidas; this kind of ignominy being the only punishment he inflicted on them. But they were so strongly affected with it, that they endeavoured to wipe out the disgrace it brought upon them, by a bravery, a fidelity, and an obedience, which they observed ever afterwards.

To prevent the ill consequences that might arise from this secret discontent, Alexander set out upon his march, and continued to pursue Bessus; on which occasion he exposed himself to great hardships and dangers. After having passed through Drangiana, Arachosia, and the country of the Arimaspi, where all things submitted to his arms, he arrived at a

[a] Arrian. l. iii. p. 143, 148. Q. Curt. l. vii. c. 3—5. Diod. l. xvii. p. 552, 554.

mountain, called Paropamisus (a part of Caucasus), where his army underwent inexpressible fatigues, through weariness, famine, cold, and the snows, which killed a great number of his soldiers. Bessus laid waste all the country that lay between him and Mount Caucasus, in order that the want of provisions and forage might deprive Alexander of an opportunity of pursuing him. He indeed suffered very much, but nothing could check his vigour. After making his army repose for some time at Drapsaca, he advanced towards Aornos and Bactria, the two strongest cities of Bactriana, and took them both. At Alexander's approach, about seven or eight thousand Bactrians, who till then had adhered very firmly to Bessus, abandoned him to a man, and retired each to his respective home. Bessus, at the head of the small number of forces who continued faithful to him, passed the river Oxus, burnt all the boats he himself made use of, to prevent Alexander from crossing it, and withdrew to Nautaca, a city of Sogdiana, fully determined to raise a new army there. Alexander, however, did not give him time to do this; and not meeting with trees or timber sufficient for the building of boats and rafts, he supplied the want of these by distributing to his soldiers a great number of skins stuffed with straw, and such-like dry and light materials; upon which they placed themselves, and crossed the river in this manner; those who went over first, drawing up in battle-array, whilst their comrades were coming after them. In this manner his whole army passed over in six days.

In the mean while Spitamenes, who was Bessus's chief confidant, formed a conspiracy against him, in concert with two more of his principal officers. Having seized his person, they put him in chains, forced his diadem from his head, tore to pieces the royal robe of Darius which he had put on, and set him on horseback, in order to give him up to Alexander.

That prince arrived at a little city inhabited by the Branchidæ. These were the descendants of a family who had dwelt in Miletus, whom Xerxes, at his return from Greece, had formerly sent into Upper Asia, where he had settled them in a very flourishing condition, in return for their having delivered up to him the treasure of the temple of Apollo Didymæus, the keepers of which they were. They received the king with the highest demonstrations of joy, and surrendered both themselves and their city to him. Alexander sent for such Milesians as were in his army, who preserved an hereditary hatred against the Branchidæ, because of the treachery of their ancestors. He then left them the choice, either of revenging the injury they had formerly done them, or of pardoning them in consideration of their common extraction. The Milesians being so much divided in opinion, that they could not agree among themselves, Alexander undertook the decision himself. Accordingly the next day he commanded his phalanx to surround the city; and a signal being given, they were ordered to plunder that abode of traitors, and put every one of them to the sword: which inhuman order was executed with the same barbarity as it had been given. All the citizens, at the very time that they were going to pay homage to Alexander, were murdered in the streets and in their houses; no manner of regard being paid to their cries and tears, nor the least distinction made of age or sex. They even pulled up the very foundations of the walls, that not the least traces of that city might remain. But of what crimes were those ill-fated citizens guilty? Were they responsible for those their fathers had committed upwards of one hundred and fifty years before? I do not know whether history furnishes another example of so brutal and frantic a cruelty.

A little after, Bessus was brought to Alexander, not only bound, but stark naked. Spitamenes held him by a chain, which went round his neck; and it

was difficult to say, whether that object was more agreeable to the barbarians or Macedonians. In presenting him to the king, he said: "I have, at "last, revenged both you and Darius, my kings "and masters. I bring you this wretch, who as- "sassinated his sovereign, and who is now treated "in the same manner as himself gave the first ex- "ample of. Alas! why cannot Darius himself see "this spectacle!" Alexander, after having greatly applauded Spitamenes, turned about to Bessus, and spoke thus: "Thou surely must have been in- "spired with the rage and fury of a tiger, otherwise "thou wouldst not have dared to load a king, from "whom thou hadst received so many instances of "favour, with chains, and afterwards murder him! "Begone from my sight, thou monster of cruelty "and perfidiousness." The king said no more, but sending for Oxatres, Darius's brother, he gave Bessus to him, in order that he might suffer all the ignominy he deserved; suspending, however, his execution, that he might be judged in the general assembly of the Persians.

SECT. XIII. *Alexander, after taking a great many cities in Bactriana, builds one near the river Iaxartes, which he calls by his own name. The Scythians, alarmed at the building of this city, as it would be a check upon them, send ambassadors to the king, who address themselves to him with uncommon freedom. After having dismissed them, he passes the Iaxartes, gains a signal victory over the Scythians, and behaves with humanity towards the vanquished. He checks and punishes the insurrection of the Sogdians, sends Bessus to Ecbatana to be put to death, and takes the city of Petra, which was thought impregnable.*

[b]ALEXANDER, insatiable of victory and conquests, still marched forward in search of new nations whom he might subdue. After recruiting his cavalry, which had suffered very much by their long and dangerous marches, he advanced to the *Iaxartes.

Not far from this river the barbarians, rushing suddenly from their mountains, came and attacked Alexander's forces; and having carried off a great number of prisoners, retired to their lurking holes, in which were twenty thousand men, who fought with bows and slings. The king went and besieged them in person, and being one of the foremost in the attack, he was shot with an arrow in the bone of his leg, and the iron head stuck in the wound. The Macedonians, who were greatly alarmed and

[b] Arrian. l. iii. p. 148, 149. & l. iv. p. 150—160. Q. Curt. l. vii. c. 6—11.

* Quintus Curtius and Arrian call it the Tanais, but they are mistaken. The Tanais lies much more westward, and empties itself not in the Caspian sea, but in the Pontus Euxinus, and is now called the Don.

afflicted, carried him off immediately, yet not so secretly, but that the barbarians knew of it; for they saw from the top of the mountain every thing that was doing below. The next day they sent ambassadors to the king, who ordered them to be immediately brought in, when taking off the bandage which covered his wound, he showed them his leg, but did not tell them how much he had been hurt. They assured him, that as soon as they heard of his being wounded, they were as much afflicted as the Macedonians could possibly be; and that had it been possible for them to find the person who had shot that arrow, they would have delivered him up to Alexander; that none but impious wretches would wage war against the gods: in a word, that being vanquished by his unparalleled bravery, they surrendered themselves to him with the nations who followed them. The king, having engaged his faith to them, and taken back his prisoners, accepted of their homage.

After this he set out upon his march, and getting into a litter, a great dispute arose between the horse and foot who should carry it, each of those bodies pretending that this honour belonged to them only: and there was no other way of reconciling them, but by giving orders that they should carry it in turn.

From hence he got, the fourth day, to Maracanda, a very considerable city, the capital of Sogdiana, which he took; and after leaving a considerable garrison there, he burnt and laid waste all the open country.

There came an embassy to him from the [c] Abian Scythians, who since the death of Cyrus had lived free and independent: these submitted to Alexander. They were considered as the most equitable of all the barbarians; never making war but to defend themselves; and the liberty established among them, and which they no ways abused, removed all

[c] Abii Scythæ.

distinction, and equalled the meanest among them with the greatest. A love of poverty and justice was their peculiar characteristic, and enabled them to live happy together without wanting either kings or laws. Alexander received them kindly, and sent one of his chief courtiers to take a view of their country, and even of the Scythians who inhabit beyond the Cimmerian Bosphorus.

He had marked out a spot of ground proper for building a city on the river Iaxartes, in order to curb the nations he had already conquered, as well as those he intended to subdue. But this design was retarded by the rebellion of the Sogdians, which was soon after followed by that of the Bactrians. Alexander dispatched Spitamenes, who had delivered up Bessus into his hands, believing him a very fit person to bring them back to their allegiance; but he himself had been chiefly instrumental in this insurrection. The king, greatly surprised at this treachery, was determined to take vengeance of him in the most signal manner. He marched in person to Cyropolis, and besieged it. This was the last city of the Persian empire, and had been built by Cyrus, whose name it bore. At the same time he sent Craterus, with two more of his general officers, to besiege the city of the Memaceni, to whom fifty troopers were sent, to desire them to sue for Alexander's clemency. These met with a very kind reception at first, but in the night-time they were all cut to pieces. Alexander had resolved to spare Cyropolis, purely for the sake of Cyrus; for, of all the monarchs who had reigned over these nations, there were none he admired more than this king and Semiramis, because they had surpassed all the rest in courage and glorious actions. He therefore offered very advantageous conditions to the besieged, but they were so blindly obstinate as to reject them, and that even with pride and insolence; upon which he stormed their city, abandoning the plunder of it to his soldiers, and razed it to the

very foundations. From hence he went to the other city which Craterus was besieging. No place ever made a more vigorous defence; for Alexander lost his best soldiers before it, and was himself exposed to very great danger; a stone striking him with so much violence on the head, that it deprived him of his senses. The whole army indeed lamented him as dead; but this prince, whom no danger nor disappointment could depress, pushed on the siege with greater vigour than before, the instant he recovered, without staying till his wound was healed, anger adding fresh fuel to his natural ardour. Having therefore caused the wall to be sapped, he made a large breach in it, and entered the city, which he burnt to the ground, and put all the inhabitants to the sword. Several other cities met with the same fate. This was a third rebellion of the Sogdians, who would not be quiet, though Alexander had pardoned them twice before. They lost above a hundred and twenty thousand men in these different sieges. The king afterwards sent Menedemus with three thousand foot and eight hundred horse to Maracanda, whence Spitamenes had driven the Macedonian garrison, and had shut himself up there.

With regard to himself, he returned back and encamped on the Iaxartes, where he surrounded with walls the whole spot of ground which his army had covered, and built a city on it, sixty *furlongs in circumference, which he also called Alexandria; having before built several of that name. He caused the workmen to make such dispatch, that in less than twenty days the ramparts were raised, and the houses built; and indeed there was a great emulation among the soldiers, who should get his work done soonest, every one of them having had his portion allotted him: and to people his new city, he ransomed all the prisoners

* Three leagues.

he could meet with, settled several Macedonians there who were worn out in the service, and permitted many natives of the country, at their own request, to inhabit it.

But the king of those Scythians who live on the other side of the Iaxartes, seeing that this city, built on the river, was a kind of yoke imposed on them, sent a great body of soldiers to demolish it, and to drive the Macedonians to a greater distance. Alexander, who had no design of attacking the Scythians, finding them make several incursions, even in his sight, in a very insolent manner, was very much perplexed; especially when advice was brought him at the same time, that the body of troops he had ordered to Maracanda, had been all, a very few excepted, cut to pieces. Such a number of obstacles uniting together would have discouraged any one but an Alexander; for the Sogdians had taken up arms, and the Bactrians also; his army was harassed by the Scythians; he himself was brought so low, that he was not able to stand upright, to mount on horseback, to speak to his forces, or give a single order. To increase his affliction, he found his army no ways inclined to attempt the passage of the river in sight of the enemy, who were drawn up in battle-array on the other side. The king continued in the utmost perplexity all night long; however, his courage surmounted every difficulty. Being told that the auspices were not propitious, he forced the soothsayers to substitute favourable ones in their stead. At day-break he put on his coat of mail, and showed himself to the soldiers, who had not seen him since the last wound he had received. These held the king in such high veneration, that his presence alone immediately removed all their fears, so that they shed tears of joy, and went unanimously and paid him their respects; entreating him to lead them against the enemy, against whom they before had refused to march. They worked so

hard at the rafts or floats, that in three days' time they had made twelve thousand; and also prepared a great number of skins for the same purpose.

As every thing was ready for the passage of the river, several Scythian ambassadors arrived, to the number of twenty, according to the custom of their country, who rode through the camp, desiring to speak with the king. Alexander having sent for them into his tent, desired them to sit down. They gazed attentively upon him a long time, without speaking a single word, probably being surprised (as they formed a judgment of men from their air and stature) to find that his did not answer the high idea they entertained of him from his fame. The oldest of the ambassadors addressed him in a speech, which, as Quintus Curtius relates it, is pretty long; however, as it is very curious, I shall present my readers with the greatest part of it.

"Had the gods given thee a body proportionable "to thy ambition, the whole universe would have "been too little for thee. With one hand thou "wouldst touch the east, and with the other the "west; and not satisfied with this, thou wouldst "follow the sun, and know where he hides himself. "Such as thou art, thou yet aspirest after what it "will be impossible for thee to attain. Thou cross-"est over from Europe into Asia; and when thou "shalt have subdued all the race of men, then thou "wilt make war against rivers, forests, and wild "beasts. Dost thou not know, that tall trees are "many years a growing, but may be torn up in an "hour's time; that the lion serves sometimes for "food to the smallest birds; that iron, though so "hard, is consumed by rust; in a word, that there "is nothing so strong, which may not be destroyed "by the weakest thing?

"What have we to do with thee? We never set "foot in thy country. May not those who inhabit "woods be allowed to live, without knowing who "thou art, and whence thou comest? We will

" neither command over, nor submit to, any man.
" And that thou mayst be sensible what kind of
" people the Scythians are, know that we received
" from heaven, as a rich present, a yoke of oxen, a
" plough-share, an arrow, a javelin, and a cup.
" These we make use of, both with our friends, and
" against our enemies. To our friends we give corn,
" which we procure by the labour of our oxen; with
" them we offer wine to the gods in our cup: and
" with regard to our enemies, we combat them at
" a distance with our arrows, and near at hand
" with our javelins. * It is with these we formerly
" conquered the most warlike nations, subdued the
" most powerful kings, laid waste all Asia, and
" opened ourselves a way into the heart of Egypt.

" But thou, who boastest thy coming to extirpate
" robbers, thou thyself art the greatest robber upon
" earth. Thou hast plundered all the nations that
" thou hast overcome. Thou hast possessed thyself
" of Lydia, invaded Syria, Persia, and Bactriana;
" thou art forming a design to march as far as In-
" dia, and thou now comest hither to seize upon our
" herds of cattle. The great possessions thou hast,
" only make thee covet more eagerly what thou
" hast not. Dost thou not see how long the Bac-
" trians have checked thy progress? Whilst thou
" art subduing these, the Sogdians revolt, and vic-
" tory is to thee only the occasion of war.

" Pass but the Iaxartes, and thou wilt behold the
" great extent of our plains. It will be in vain for
" thee to pursue the Scythians; and I defy thee
" ever to overtake them. Our poverty will be more
" active than thy army, laden with the spoils of so
" many nations; and, when thou shalt fancy us at

* This is to be understood of the famous irruption of the Scythians, who advanced as far as Egypt, and possessed themselves of Upper Asia for twenty-eight years. See the second volume of this work, in the History of the Assyrians. I have not followed Q. Curtius literally in this place, the text being much embarassed.

"a great distance, thou wilt see us rush suddenly "on thy camp; for we pursue, and fly from our "enemies with equal speed. I am informed that "the Greeks speak jestingly of the Scythian soli- "tudes, and that they are even become a proverb; "but we are fonder of our deserts, than of your "great cities and fruitful plains. Let me observe "to thee, that fortune is slippery; hold her fast "therefore, for fear she should escape thee. Put "a curb to thy felicity, if thou desirest to continue "in possession of it.

"If thou art a god, thou oughtest to do good to "mortals, and not deprive them of their posses- "sions: if thou art a mere man, reflect always on "what thou art. They whom thou shalt not mo- "lest, will be thy true friends; the strongest friend- "ships being contracted between equals; and they "are esteemed equals, who have not tried their "strength against each other: but do not imagine, "that those whom thou conquerest can love thee; "for there is no such thing as friendship between "a master and his slave, and a forced peace is "soon followed by a war.

"To conclude, *do not fancy that the Scythians "will take an oath in their concluding an alliance. "The only oath among them is to keep their word "without swearing. Such cautions as these do "indeed become Greeks, who sign their treaties, "and call upon the gods to witness them; but, "with regard to us, our religion consists in being "sincere, and in keeping the promises we have "made. That man who is not ashamed to break "his word with men, is not afraid of deceiving "the gods; and of what use could friends be to "thee whom thou couldst not trust? Consider "that we will guard both Europe and Asia for thee.

* *Jurando gratiam Scythas sancire ne credideris: colendo fidem jurant. Græcorum ista cautio est, qui acta consignant, et deos invocant: nos religionem in ipsâ fide novimus. Qui non reverentur homines, fallunt deos.* Q. CURT.

" We extend as far as Thrace, and we are told, that " Thrace is contiguous to Macedonia. The river " Iaxartes alone divides us from Bactriana. Thus " we are thy neighbours on both sides. Consider, " therefore, whether thou wilt have us for friends, " or enemies."

The barbarian spoke thus; to whom the king made but a very short answer: " That he would " take advantage both of his own good fortune, " and of their counsel: of his good fortune, by still " continuing to rely upon it; and of their counsel, " by not attempting any thing rashly." Having dismissed the ambassadors, his army embarked on the rafts, which by this time were got ready. In the front, he placed such as carried bucklers, and made them kneel down, the better to secure themselves from the arrows of the enemy. Behind these were those who worked the machines for discharging arrows and stones, covered on all sides with soldiers armed cap-a-pie. The rest who followed the engines, had their shields fixed together over their heads, in form of a tortoise, by which they defended the sailors who wore corslets. The like order and disposition were observed in the other rafts which carried the horse.

The army found great difficulty in crossing. Every thing conspired to intimidate them: the clamour and confusion that are inseparable from such an enterprise; the rapidity of the stream, which carried away every thing with it; and the sight of a numerous army, drawn up in battle-array, on the opposite shore. However, the presence of Alexander, who was ever the foremost in encountering dangers, made them neglect their own safety, and be concerned for his only. As soon as the Macedonians began to draw near the shore, they who carried shields rose up together, when throwing their javelins with a steady aim, every weapon did execution. When they perceived that the enemy, overpowered with that shower of darts, began to

give way, and draw their horses back, they leaped on the shore with incredible swiftness, and animating one another, began the charge with vigour. In this disorder, the troopers, whose horses were ready bridled, rushed upon the enemy, and quite broke them. The king could not be heard, by reason of the faintness of his voice; but the example he set, spoke for him.

And now nothing was heard in the Macedonian army, but shouts of joy and victory, whilst they continued to attack the barbarians with the utmost fury. The latter not being able to stand so fierce an onset, fled as fast as their horses could carry them; for they consisted of cavalry only. Though the king was very weak, he nevertheless pursued them briskly a long way, till being at last quite spent, he was obliged to stop. After commanding his troops to pursue them as long as daylight lasted, he withdrew to the camp, in order to repose himself, and to wait the return of his forces. The Macedonians had already gone beyond the boundaries of Bacchus, which were marked out by great stones ranged close one to the other, and by great trees, the trunks of which were covered with ivy. However, the heat of the pursuit carried them still farther, and they did not return back into the camp till after midnight; having killed a great number of the enemy, and taken many more prisoners, with eighteen hundred horses, all which they drove before them. On Alexander's side there were but sixty troopers slain, and about a hundred foot, with a thousand wounded. Alexander sent back to the Scythians all their prisoners without ransom, to show, that not animosity, but a thirst of glory, had prompted him to make war against so valiant a nation.

The report of this victory, and much more the clemency with which the king treated the vanquished, greatly increased his reputation. The Scythians had always been considered as invincible;

but after their defeat, it was owned that every nation in the world ought to yield to the Macedonians. The Sacæ, who were a powerful nation, sent an embassy to Alexander, by which they submitted themselves to him, and requested his friendship. The Scythians themselves made an apology by their ambassadors; throwing the whole blame of what had happened on some few individuals, and declaring that they were ready to obey all the commands of the victorious prince.

Alexander, being so happily freed from the care and trouble of this important war, bent his whole thoughts on Maracanda, in which the traitor Spitamenes had fortified himself. At the first news of Alexander's approach, he had fled away, and withdrawn into Bactriana. The king pursued him thither, but despairing to come up with him, he returned back and plundered Sogdiana, which is watered by the river Polytimetus.

Among the Sogdians that were taken prisoners, there were thirty young men, all well shaped and very comely, and the greatest lords of the country. These being told, that they were led to execution by Alexander's command, began to sing songs of joy, to leap and dance, discovering all the indications of an immoderate joy. The king, surprised to see them go to death with so much gaiety, had them brought before him; when he asked them, how they came to break into such transports of joy, when they saw death before their eyes? They answered, that they should have been afflicted, had any other person but himself put them to death; but as they would be restored to their ancestors by the command of so great a monarch, who had vanquished all nations, they thought themselves happy in a death so glorious that the bravest men would wish to die the same. Alexander, admiring their magnanimity, asked whether they would desire to be pardoned, upon condition that they should no longer be his enemies? They answered, he might be assured

they had never been his enemies; but that, as he had attacked them, they had defended themselves; and that, had they been applied to in a gentle manner, and not attacked by force and violence, they would have vied with him in politeness and generosity. The king asked them further, what pledges they would give him of their faith and sincerity? "No other (answered they) but the same life we "receive from your goodness, and which we shall "always be ready to give back, whenever you shall "require it." And, indeed, they were as good as their word. Four of them, whom he took into his body-guard, endeavoured to rival the Macedonians in zeal and fidelity.

The king, after having left a small number of forces in Sogdiana, marched to Bactria, where, having assembled all his generals, he commanded Bessus to be brought before them; when, after reproaching him for his treachery, and causing his nose and ears to be cut off, he sent him to Ecbatana, there to suffer the most extreme torture under the direction of Darius's mother. Plutarch has left us an account of this execution. Four trees were bent, by main force, one towards the other; and to each of these trees one of the limbs of this traitor's body was fastened. Afterwards, these trees being suffered to return to their natural position, they flew back with so much violence, that each tore away the limb that was fixed to it, and so quartered him. The same punishment is at this day inflicted on persons convicted of high-treason, who are torn to pieces by four horses.

Alexander received at this time, both from Macedonia and Greece, a large number of recruits, amounting to upwards of sixteen thousand men. By this considerable reinforcement, he was enabled to subdue all those who had rebelled; and, to curb them for the future, he built several fortresses in Margiana.

A. M. 3676. Ant. J. C. 328. All things were now restored to a profound tranquillity. There remained but one strong hold, called *Petra Oxiana*, or the rock of Oxus, which was defended by Arimazes, a native of Sogdiana, with thirty thousand soldiers under his command, and ammunition and provisions for two years. This rock, which was very high and craggy on all sides, was accessible only by a single path that was cut in it. The king, after viewing its works, was a long time in suspense whether he should besiege it; but, as it was his character to aim at the marvellous in all things, and to attempt impossibilities, he resolved to try, if he could not overcome, on this occasion, nature itself, which seemed to have fortified this rock in such a manner as had rendered it absolutely impregnable. However, before he formed the siege, he summoned those barbarians, but in mild terms, to submit to him. Arimazes received this offer in a very haughty manner; and after using several insulting expressions, asked, "whether Alexander, who was able to do all "things, could fly also; and whether nature had, "on a sudden, given him wings?"

Alexander was highly exasperated at this insolent answer. He therefore gave orders for selecting, from among the mountaineers who were in his army, three hundred of the most active and dexterous. These being brought to him, he addressed them thus: "It was in your company, brave young "men, that I stormed such places as were thought "impregnable; that I made my way over moun-"tains covered with eternal snows; crossed rivers, "and broke through the passes of Cilicia. This "rock, which you see, has but one outlet, which "alone is defended by the barbarians, who neglect "every other part. There is no watch nor senti-"nel, except on that side which faces our camp. "If you search very narrowly, you certainly will "meet with some path that leads to the top of the

"rock. Nothing has been made so inaccessible
" by nature, as not to be surmounted by valour;
" and it was only by our attempting, what no one
" before had hopes of effecting, that we have pos-
" sessed ourselves of Asia. Get up to the sum-
" mit, and when you shall have made yourselves
" masters of it, set up a white standard there as a
" signal; and be assured, that I then will certainly
" disengage you from the enemy, and draw them
" upon myself, by making a diversion." The king accompanied this order with the most splendid promises; but the pleasing him, was considered by them as the greatest of all rewards. Fired therefore with the most noble ardour, and fancying they had already reached the summit, they set out, after having provided themselves with wedges to drive into the stones, with cramp-irons, and thick ropes.

The king went round the mountain with them and commanded them to begin their march * at the second watch of the night, by that part which should seem to them of easiest access; beseeching the gods to guide their steps. They took provisions for two days; and being armed with swords and javelins only, they began to ascend the mountain, walking some time on foot; afterwards, when it was necessary for them to climb, some clung to the stones which projected forwards, and by that means raised themselves; others thrust their cramp-irons into the snow that was frozen, to keep themselves from falling, where the way was slippery; while others, driving in their wedges with great strength, made them serve as so many scaling-ladders. They spent the whole day in this manner, hanging against the rock, and exposed to numerous dangers and difficulties, being obliged to struggle at the same time with snow, cold, and wind. Nevertheless, the hardest task was yet to come; and the farther they advanced, the higher the rock seemed to rise. But that which terrified them most was

* About nine or ten o'clock.

the sad spectacle of some of their comrades falling down precipices, whose unhappy fate was a warning to them of what they themselves might expect. Notwithstanding this, they still advanced forward, and exerted themselves so vigorously, that, in spite of all these difficulties, they at last got to the top of the rock. But they were all inexpressibly weary, and many of them even lost the use of some of their limbs. Night and drowsiness came upon them at the same time, so that dispersing themselves in such parts of the rock as were free from snows, they lay down in them, and slept till day-break. At last waking from a deep sleep, and looking on all sides to discover the place where so many people could lie hid, they saw smoke below them, which showed them the haunt of the enemy. They then put up the signal, as had been agreed; and their whole company being drawn up, thirty-two were found wanting, who had lost their lives in the ascent.

In the mean time the king, equally fired with a desire of storming the fortress, and struck with the visible dangers to which those men were exposed, continued on foot the whole day, gazing upon the rock, and did not retire to rest till dark night. The next morning, by peep of day, he was the first who perceived the signal. Nevertheless he was still in doubt whether he might trust his eyes, because of the false splendour which takes place at day-break; but the light increasing, he was sure of what he saw. Sending therefore for Cophes, who before, by his command, had sounded the barbarians, he dispatched him a second time, to exhort them to think better of the matter; and in case they should still depend upon the strength of the place, he then was ordered to show them the band of men behind their backs, who were got to the summit of the rock. Cophes employed all the arguments possible, to engage Arimazes to capitulate; representing to him, that he would gain the

king's favour, in case he did not interrupt the great designs he meditated, by obliging him to make some farther stay before that rock. Arimazes sent a haughtier and more insolent answer than before, and commanded him to retire. Then Cophes taking him by the hand, desired he would come out of the cave with him, which the barbarian doing, he showed him the Macedonians posted over his head, and said in an insulting tone of voice, "You see "that Alexander's soldiers have wings." In the mean time the trumpets were heard to sound in every part of the Macedonian camp, and the whole army shouted aloud, and cried, Victory! These things, though of little consequence in themselves, did nevertheless, as often happens, throw the barbarians into so great a consternation, that without once reflecting how few were got to the summit, they thought themselves lost. Upon this, Cophes was recalled, and thirty of the chiefs among the barbarians were sent back with him, who agreed to surrender up the place, upon condition that their lives might be spared. The king, notwithstanding the strong opposition he might meet with, was however so exasperated at the haughtiness of Arimazes, that he refused to grant them any terms of capitulation. A blind and rash confidence in his own good fortune, which had never failed him, made him insensible to every danger. Arimazes, on the other side, blinded by fear, and concluding himself absolutely lost, came down with his relations and the principal nobility of the country, into Alexander's camp. But this prince, who was not master of his anger, forgetting what the faith of treaties and humanity required on this occasion, caused them all to be scourged with rods, and afterwards be fixed to crosses, at the foot of the rock. The multitudes of people who surrendered, with all the booty, were given to the inhabitants of the cities which had been newly founded in those parts; and Artabazus was left governor of the rock, and the whole province round it.

SECT. XIV. *The death of Clitus. Several expeditions of Alexander. He endeavours to procure worship to be paid to himself, after the manner of the Persians. Discontents arise among the Macedonians. Death of Callisthenes the philosopher.*

[d]ALEXANDER having subdued the Massagetæ and the Dahæ, entered Bazaria. In this province are a great number of large parks stocked with deer. Here the king took the diversion of hunting, in which he was exposed to very great peril; for a lion of an enormous size advanced directly to him, but he killed him with a single thrust. Although Alexander came off victorious on this occasion, yet the Macedonians, alarmed at the danger he had run, and the whole army in his person, gave orders, pursuant to the custom of their country, that the king should go no more a hunting on foot, without being attended by some of his courtiers and officers. They were sensible, that a king is not born for his own sake, but for that of his subjects; that he ought to be careful of his own person for their sakes, and reserve his courage for other dangers; and that the being famous for killing beasts (a reputation unworthy of a great prince) ought not to be purchased so dear.

From hence he returned to Maracanda, where he quelled some tumults which had broken out in that country. Artabazus requesting to be discharged from the government of that province, by reason of his great age, he appointed Clitus his successor. He was an old officer, who had fought under Philip, and signalized himself on many occasions. It was he who at the battle of the Granicus, as Alexander

[d] Q. Curt. l. viii c. 1—8. Arrian. l. iv. p. 161—171. Plut. in Alex. p. 693—696. Justin. l. xii. c. 6, 7.

was fighting bareheaded, and Rosaces had his arm raised, in order to strike him behind, covered the king with his shield, and cut off the barbarian's hand. Hellanice, his sister, had nursed Alexander; and he loved her with as much tenderness as if she had been his own mother. As the king, from these several considerations, had very great respect for Clitus, he intrusted him with the government of one of the most important provinces of his empire, and ordered him to set out the next day.

Before his departure, Clitus was invited in the evening to an entertainment, in which the king, * after drinking immoderately, began to celebrate his own exploits; and was so lavish in his praises of himself, that he even shocked those very persons who knew that he spoke truth. However the oldest men in the company held their peace, till beginning to depreciate the warlike acts of Philip, he boasted "That the famous victory of Chæro-" nea was won by his means; and that the glory of " that celebrated day had been torn from him by " the malice and jealousy of his father: that in " the † insurrection which broke out between the " Macedonians and mercenary Greeks, Philip, " fainting from the wounds he had received in that " tumult, had laid himself on the ground; and " could not think of a better method to save " himself, than by lying along as dead: that on " this occasion he had covered him with his shield, " and killed with his own hands those who at- " tempted to fall upon him; but that his father " could never prevail upon himself to confess this " circumstance ingenuously, being vexed that he " owed his life to his own son: that in the war " against the Illyrians, he alone had done every

* *In quo rex, cùm, multo incaluisset mero, immodicus æstimator sui, celebrare quæ gesserat cœpit: gravis etiam eorum auribus, qui sentiebant vera memorari.* Q. CURT.

† This sedition is not mentioned in any other place.

" thing, Philip having had no manner of share in " it; and hearing of the defeat of the enemy, no " otherwise than by the letters he sent him: " that the persons worthy of praise, were not " such as initiated themselves in the * mysteries " of the Samothracians, when they ought to have " laid waste all Asia with fire and sword, but those " who had achieved such mighty exploits as sur- " passed all belief."

This and similar discourse was very pleasing to the young men, but highly offensive to those advanced in years; especially for Philip's sake, under whom they had fought many years. Clitus, who also was flushed with wine, turning about to those who sat below him at table, quoted to them a passage from † Euripides, but in such a manner that the king could only hear his voice, and not the words distinctly. The sense of this passage was, " That the Greeks had done very wrong in ordain- " ing, that in the inscriptions engraved on trophies, " the names of kings only should be mentioned; ‡ " because, by these means, brave men were robbed " of the glory they had purchased with their blood." The king, suspecting Clitus had let drop some disobliging expressions, asked those who sat nearest him, what he had said? As no one answered, Clitus, raising his voice by degrees, began to relate the actions of Philip, and his wars in Greece, preferring them to whatever was doing at that time; which created a great dispute between the young and old men. Whatever vexation the king might inwardly feel, he nevertheless stifled his resentment, and seemed to listen very patiently to all Clitus spoke to

* It was usual for generals, before they set out on their expeditions, to cause themselves to be initiated in these mysteries, and offer sacrifices to the gods who presided over them. Possibly Philip, by observing this ceremony, had delayed some enterprise.

† In his Andromache.

‡ *Alieno enim sanguine partam gloriam intercipi.* Q. CURT.

his prejudice. It is probable he would have quite suppressed his passion, had Clitus stopped there; but the latter, growing more and more insolent, as if determined to exasperate and insult the king, went such lengths, as openly to defend Parmenio; and to assert, that the destroying of Thebes was but trifling in comparison of the victory which Philip had gained over the Athenians; and that the old Macedonians, though sometimes unsuccessful, were greatly superior to those who were so rash as to despise them.

Alexander telling him, that in giving cowardice the name of ill success, he was pleading his own cause; Clitus rises up, with his eyes sparkling with wine and anger: "It is nevertheless this hand (said "he to him, extending it at the same time) that "saved your life at the battle of the Granicus. It "is the blood and wounds of these very Macedo- "nians, who are accused of cowardice, that raised "you to this grandeur. But the tragical end of "Parmenio shows, what reward they and myself "may expect for all our services." This last reproach stung Alexander: however, he still restrained his passion, and only commanded him to leave the table. "He is in the right (says Clitus, as he rose "up) not to bear freeborn men at his table, who "can only tell him truth. He will do well to pass "his life among barbarians and slaves, who will "be proud to pay their adoration to his Persian "girdle and his white robe." The king, now no longer able to suppress his rage, snatched a javelin from one of his guards, and would have killed Clitus on the spot, had not the courtiers withheld his arm, and Clitus been forced, but with great difficulty, out of the hall. However, he returned into it immediately by another door, singing, with an air of insolence, verses reflecting highly on the prince; who seeing the general near him, struck him with his javelin, and laid him dead at his feet crying out at the same time, "Go now to Philip, to "Parmenio, and to Attalus."

The king's anger being in a manner extinguished on a sudden in the blood of Clitus, his crime displayed itself to him in its blackest and most dreadful light. He had murdered a man, who indeed had abused his patience, but who till then had always served him with the utmost zeal and fidelity, and saved his life, though he was ashamed to own it. He had that instant performed the vile office of an executioner, in punishing, by a horrid murder, the uttering of some indiscreet words, which might be imputed to the fumes of wine. With what face could he appear before the sister of Clitus, his nurse, and offer her a hand imbrued in her brother's blood? No longer able to support these melancholy reflections, he threw himself on his friend's body, forced out the javelin, and would have dispatched himself with it, had not the guards, who rushed in upon him, laid hold of his hands, and forcibly carried him into his own apartment.

He passed that night and the next day in tears. After that groans and lamentations had quite wasted his spirits, he continued speechless, stretched on the ground, and only venting deep sighs. But his friends, fearing this silence would be fatal, forced themselves into his chamber. The king took very little notice of the efforts that were employed to comfort him; but Aristander, the soothsayer, putting him in mind of a dream, in which he had imagined he saw Clitus, clothed in a black robe, and seated at table; and declaring, that all which had then happened, was appointed by the eternal decree of fate, and consequently unavoidable, Alexander appeared a little easier in his mind. He next was addressed by two philosophers, Callisthenes and Anaxarchus. The former went up to him with an air of humanity and tenderness, and endeavoured to suppress his grief, by agreeably insinuating himself, and endeavoured to make him recall his reason, by sound reflections drawn from the very essence of philosophy, and by carefully shunning all such expressions as might renew his

affliction, and fret a wound, which, as it was still bleeding, required to be touched with the gentlest hand. But Anaxarchus was not so considerate; for the moment he entered, he cried aloud, "What! is this Alexander, on whom the eyes of "the whole world are fixed? Behold him here ex- "tended on the floor, shedding floods of tears, "like the meanest slave! Does not he know, that "he himself is a supreme law to his subjects; that "he conquered merely to raise himself to the ex- "alted dignity of lord and sovereign, and not to "subject himself to a vain opinion?" The king was determined to starve himself; so that it was with the utmost difficulty that his friends prevailed with him to take a little sustenance. The Macedonians declared by a decree, that Clitus had been justly killed; to which decree Anaxarchus the philosopher had given occasion, by asserting that the will of princes is the supreme law of the state. Alas! how weak are all such reflections against the cries of a justly alarmed conscience, which can never be quieted either by flattery or false arguments!

It must be confessed that Clitus had committed a great and inexcusable fault. It was indeed his duty, not to join in discourses calculated to sully the glory of Philip his benefactor; but to show his dislike of what was said, by a mournful but modest silence. He possibly might have been allowed to have given his testimony to the merits of the late monarch, provided he had expressed himself with prudence and moderation. Had such moderation been unsuccessful, he might justly have merited pity, and would not have been criminal. But by breaking into injurious and shocking reproaches, he quite forgot the veneration due to the sacred character of kings; with regard to whom, how unjustly soever they may act, not only every contemptuous and insulting expression is forbid, but every disrespectful and unguarded word; they

being towards their subjects the representatives of God himself.

It must nevertheless be confessed, that the circumstance of the banquet extenuates very much, or throws, in some measure, a veil over Clitus's fault. When a prince invites a subject to his table; when he makes him the companion of a debauch, and in person excites him to drink immoderately; a king on such an occasion, seems to forget his dignity, and to permit his guests to forget it also; he gives a sanction, as it were, to the liberties, familiarities, and sudden flights, which wine commonly inspires: and should he be displeased with a subject for equalling himself with him, he ought to blame himself, for having first raised a subject so high. A fault committed under these circumstances, is nevertheless a fault; but then it does not deserve to be expiated by the blood of the offender.

A certain author compares* anger, when united with power, to thunder; and, indeed, what havoc does it not then make? But how dreadful must it be, when joined with drunkenness! We see this in Alexander. How unhappy was that prince, not to have endeavoured to subdue those two vices in his youth;† but even to have been confirmed in them, from the example of one of his tutors? For it is asserted, that both were the consequences of his education. But what can be meaner, or more unworthy a king, than drinking to excess? What can be more fatal or bloody, than the transports of anger? ‡Alexander, who had overcome so many nations, was himself conquered by those two vices,

* *Fulmen est, ubi cum potestate habitat iracundia.* Publ. Syr.

† *Nec minùs error eorum nocet moribus, si quidem Leonides Alexandri pædagogus, ut à Babylonio Diogene traditur, quibusdameum vitiis imbuit, quæ robustum quoque et jam maximum regem ab illâ institutione puerili sunt prosecuta.* Quintil. l. i. c. i.

‡ *Victor tot regum atque populorum, iræ succubuit. Id enim egerat, ut omnia potiùs haberet in potestate, quàm affectus.—Imperare sibi maximum imperium est.* Senec. Epist. cxiii.

which throw a shade over the glory of his brightest actions. The reason of this, says Seneca, is, he endeavoured more to vanquish others, than to subdue himself; not knowing, that to triumph over our passions is, of all conquests, the most glorious.

Alexander, after continuing ten days in Maracanda, in order to recover his spirits marched into the Xenippa, a province bordering upon Scythia; whither some rebels were retired, all whom he subjected, and gave them a free pardon. From thence he set forward with his army towards the Chorienian rock, of which Sysimethres was governor. All access to it seemed absolutely impracticable; nevertheless, he at last got near it, after having passed through numberless difficulties, and, by the mediation of Oxyartes, a prince of that country, who had adhered to Alexander, he prevailed with Sysimethres to surrender. The king after this left him the government of that place, and promised him very great advantages in case he continued faithful.

Alexander had resolved to attack the Dahæ, because Spitamenes, the chief of the rebels, had taken refuge among them; but the good fortune which always attended him, spared him that labour. The wife of this barbarian, being no longer able to bear the vagabond wretched life her husband had forced her to lead, and having often entreated him, but in vain, to surrender himself to the conqueror, she herself murdered him in the night; and, quite covered with his blood, went and carried his head to the king. Alexander was shocked at so horrid a spectacle, and ordered her to be driven ignominiously from the camp.

Alexander, after having drawn his army out of the garrisons, where they had wintered three months, marched towards a country called Gabaza. In his way he met with a dreadful storm. Flashes of lightning coming thick one upon the other, dazzled the

eyes of the soldiers, and entirely discouraged them. It thundered almost incessantly, and the thunderbolts fell every moment at the feet of the soldiers; so that they did not dare either to stand still or advance forward. On a sudden, a violent shower of rain, mixed with hail, came pouring down like a flood; and so extreme was the cold in this country, that it froze the rain as soon as it fell. The sufferings of the army on this occasion were almost insupportable. The king, who was the only person invincible by these calamities, rode up and down among the soldiers, comforted and animated them; and pointing at smoke which issued from some distant huts, urged them to march thither with all the speed possible. Having given orders for the felling of a great number of trees, and laying them in heaps up and down, he had fires made in different places, and by this means saved the army, but upwards of a thousand men lost their lives. The king made up to the officers and soldiers the several losses they had sustained during this fatal storm.

When they were recovered so well as to be able to march, he went into the country of the Sacæ, which he soon overran and laid waste. Soon after this, Oxyartes received him in his palace, and invited him to a sumptuous banquet, in which he displayed all the magnificence of the barbarians. He had a daughter called Roxana, whose exquisite beauty was heightened by all the charms of wit and good sense. Alexander found her charms irresistible, and made her his wife; covering his passion with the specious pretence, of uniting the two nations in such bands as should improve their mutual harmony, by blending their interests, and throwing down all distinctions between the conquerors and the conquered. This marriage displeased the Macedonians very much, and exasperated his chief courtiers, to see him make one of his

slaves his father-in-law: but as, *after his murdering Clitus, no one dared to speak to him with freedom, they applauded what he did with their eyes and countenances, which can adapt themselves wonderfully to flattery and servile complaisance.

In fine; having resolved to march into India, and embark from thence on the ocean, he commanded, (in order that nothing might be left behind to check his designs,) that thirty thousand young men should be brought him, all completely armed, out of the several provinces, to serve him at the same time for hostages as well as soldiers. In the mean while he sent Craterus against some of the rebels, whom he easily defeated. Polysperchon likewise subdued a country called Bubacene; so that all things being in perfect tranquillity, Alexander bent his whole thoughts to the carrying on war with India. This country was considered as the richest in the world, not only in gold, but in pearls and precious stones, with which the inhabitants adorned themselves, but with more luxury than gracefulness. It was related, that the shields of the soldiers were of gold and ivory; and the king, now the greatest monarch in the world, being determined not to yield to any person whatsoever, in any circumstance, caused the shields of his soldiers to be set off with silver plates, put golden bridles to the horses, had the coats of mail ornamented with gold and silver, and prepared to march for this enterprise, at the head of a hundred and twenty thousand men, all equipped thus magnificently.

All things being ready for their setting out, he thought proper to reveal the design he had so long meditated, *viz.* to have divine honours paid him; and was solely intent on the means for putting that design in execution. He was anxious, not only to be called, but to be believed, the son of Jupiter;

* *Sed, post Clyti cædem, libertate sublatâ, vultu, qui maximè servit, assentiebantur.* Q. CURT.

as it it had been possible for him to command absolutely the mind as well as the tongue, and that the Macedonians should fall prostrate, and adore him after the Persian manner.

To *sooth and cherish these ridiculous pretensions, there were not wanting flatterers, those common pests of courts, who are more dangerous to princes than the arms of their enemies. The Macedonians, indeed, would not stoop to this base adulation; all of them, to a man, refusing to vary, in any manner, from the customs of their country. The whole evil was owing to some Greeks, whose depraved manners were a scandal to their profession of teaching virtue and the sciences. These, though the very refuse of Greece, were nevertheless in greater credit with the king, than either the princes of his blood, or the generals of his army: it was such creatures as these that placed him in the skies; and published, wherever they came, that Hercules, Bacchus, Castor, and Pollux, would resign their seats to this new deity.

He therefore appointed a festival, and made an incredibly pompous banquet, to which he invited the greatest lords of his court, both Macedonians and Greeks, and most of the highest quality among the Persians. With these he sat down at table for some time, after which he withdrew. Upon this Cleon, one of his flatterers, began to speak, and expatiated very much on the praises of the king, as had before been agreed upon. He made a long detail of the high obligations they had to him, all which (he observed) they might acknowledge and repay at a very easy expence, merely with two grains of incense, which they should offer to him as to a god, without the least scruple, since they believed

* *Non deerat talia concupiscenti perniciosa adulatio, perpetuum malum regum, quorum opes sæpiùs assentatio, quàm hostis, evertit.* Q. Curt.

him such. To this purpose he cited the example of the Persians. He took notice, that Hercules himself, and Bacchus, were not ranked among the deities till after they had surmounted the envy of their contemporaries: that in case the rest should scruple to pay this justice to Alexander's merit, he himself was resolved to show them the way, and to worship him if he should come into the hall: but that all of them must do their duty, especially those that professed wisdom, who ought to set to the others an example of the veneration due to so great a monarch.

It appeared plainly that this speech was directed to Callisthenes. * He was related to Aristotle, who had presented him to Alexander his pupil, that he might attend upon that monarch in the war of Persia. He was considered, upon account of his wisdom and gravity, as the fittest person to give him such wholesome counsel as was most capable of preserving him from those excesses, into which his youth and fiery temper might hurry him: but he was accused of not possessing the gentle, insinuating behaviour of courts; and of *not knowing a certain medium, between grovelling complaisance, and inflexible obstinacy. Aristotle had attempted, but to no purpose, to soften the severity of his temper; and foreseeing the ill consequences with which this disagreeable liberty of speaking his mind might be attended, he used often to repeat the following verse of † Homer to him:

My son, thy freedom will abridge thy days.

And his prediction was but too true.

This philosopher, seeing that every one, on this occasion, continued in a deep silence, and that

* Diog. Laert. in Aristot. lib. v. p. 303.

* *Inter abruptam contumaciam et deforme obsequium pergere iter ambitione ac periculis vacuum.* TACIT. Annal. lib. iv. cap. 20.

† Ὠκύμορος δή μοι, τέκος, ἔσσεαι, οἷ' ἀγορεύεις. Il. xviii. v. 95.

the eyes of the whole assembly were fixed on him, made a speech, which appears to me just enough. However, it often happens, when a subject is bound in duty to oppose the inclinations of his sovereign, that the most cautious and most respectful zeal is considered as insolence and rebellion. "Had the king (said he) been present at "the speech which thou hast just made, none "among us would have attempted to answer "thee, for he himself would have interrupted "thee, and not have suffered thee to prompt him "to assume the customs of barbarians, in casting "an odium on his person and glory, by so servile "an adulation. But since he is absent, I will "answer thee in his name. I consider Alexander "as worthy of all the honours that can be paid a "mortal; but there is a difference between the wor- "ship of the gods and that of men. The former "includes temples, altars, prayers, and sacrifices; "the latter is confined to praises only, and awful "respect. We salute the latter, and look upon it "as glorious to pay them submission, obedience, "and fidelity; but we adore the former, we insti- "tute festivals to their honour, and sing hymns "and anthems to their glory. The worship of "the gods does itself vary, according to their "rank; and the homage we pay to Castor and Pol- "lux, is not like that with which we adore Mer- "cury and Jupiter. We must not therefore con- "found all distinctions, either by bringing down the "gods to the condition of mortals, or by raising a "mortal to the state of a god. Alexander would "be justly offended should we pay to another per- "son the homage due to his sacred person alone; "ought we not to dread the indignation of the "gods as much, should we bestow upon mortals "the honours due to them alone? I am sensible "that our monarch is vastly superior to the rest; "he is the greatest of kings, and the most glorious "of all conquerors; but then he is a man, not a

"god. To obtain this title, he must first be di-
"vested of his mortal frame; but this it is greatly
"our interest to wish may not happen, but as late
"as possible. The Greeks did not worship Her-
"cules till after his death; and that not till the oracle
"had expressly commanded it. The Persians are
"cited as an example for our imitation; but how
"long is it that the vanquished have given law to
"the victor? Can we forget that Alexander crossed
"the Hellespont, not to subject Greece to Asia,
"but Asia to Greece!"

The deep silence which all the company observed whilst Callisthenes spoke, was a sufficient indication of their thoughts. The king, who stood behind the tapestry all the time, heard whatever had passed. He thereupon ordered Cleon to be told, "That without insisting any farther, he would only "require the Persians to fall prostrate, according "to their usual custom." A little after this he came in, pretending he had been busied in some affair of importance, and immediately the Persians fell prostrate to adore him. Polysperchon, who stood near him, observing that one of them bowed so low that his chin touched the ground, bid him, in a rallying tone of voice, to *strike harder*. The king, offended at this joke, threw Polysperchon into prison, and broke up the assembly. However, he afterwards pardoned him; but Callisthenes was not so fortunate.

To rid himself of him, he laid to his charge a crime of which he was no ways guilty. Hermolaus, one of the young officers who attended upon the king in all places, had, upon account of some private pique, formed a conspiracy against him; but it was very happily discovered, the instant it was to be put in execution. The criminals were seized, put to the torture, and executed. Not one among them had accused Callisthenes; but having been very intimate with Hermolaus, that alone was sufficient. Accordingly he was thrown into a dungeon,

loaded with irons, and the most grievous torments were inflicted on him, in order to extort a confession of guilt. But he insisted upon his innocence to the last, and expired in the midst of his tortures.

Nothing has reflected so much dishonour on Alexander's memory, as this unjust and cruel death of Callisthenes. He truly merited the name of philosopher, from the solidity of his understanding, the extent of his knowledge, the austerity of his life, the regularity of his conduct, and above all, from the hatred he so evidently manifested for dissimulation and flattery of every kind. He was not born for courts, the frequenters of which must have a supple, pliable, flexible temper; sometimes indeed it must be of a knavish and treacherous, at least of a hypocritical, flattering turn. He very seldom was seen at the king's table, though frequently invited to it; and whenever he prevailed so far upon himself as to go thither, his melancholy silent air was a manifest indication, that he disapproved of every thing that was said or done at it. With this humour, which was a little too severe, he would have been an inestimable treasure to a prince who hated falsehood; for among the many thousands who surrounded Alexander, and paid court to him, Callisthenes alone had courage enough to tell him the truth. But where do we meet with princes who know the value of such a treasure, and the use which ought to be made of it? Truth seldom pierces those clouds which are raised by the authority of the great, and the flattery of their courtiers. And indeed Alexander, by this dreadful example, deprived all virtuous men of the opportunity of pointing out his true interest. From that instant no one spoke with freedom in the council; even those who had the greatest love for the public welfare, and a personal affection for Alexander, thought themselves not obliged to undeceive him. After this, nothing

was listened to but flattery, which gained such an ascendant over that prince, as entirely depraved him, and justly punished him, for having sacrificed to the wild ambition of having adoration paid him, the most virtuous man about his person.

I observe, after Seneca, that the death of *Callisthenes is an eternal reproach to Alexander, and so horrid a crime, that no quality, how beautiful soever, no military exploit, however brilliant, can ever efface its infamy. If it is said in favour of Alexander, that he killed an infinite number of Persians; that he dethroned and slew the most powerful king of the earth; conquered innumerable provinces and nations; penetrated as far as the ocean, and extended the bounds of his empire from the most remote part of Thrace to the extremities of the East: in answer to each of these particulars, *Yes*, says Seneca, *but he murdered Callisthenes;* a crime of such magnitude, that it entirely obliterates the glory of all his other actions.

* *Hoc est Alexandri crimen æternum, quod nulla virtus, nulla bellorum felicitas redimet. Nam quotiens quis dixerit, occidit Persarum multa millia; opponetur, et Callisthenem. Quotiens dictum erit, occidit Darium, penès quem tunc magnum regnum erat; opponetur, et Callisthenem. Quotiens dictum erit, omnia oceano tenus vicit, ipsum quoque tentavit novis classibus, et imperium ex angulo Thraciæ usque ad orientis terminos protulit; dicetur, sed Callisthenem occidit. Omnia licèt antiqua ducum regumque exempla transierit, ex his quæ fecit, nihil tam magnum erit, quàm scelus Callisthenis.* SENEC. Nat. quæst. l. vi. c. 23.

SECT. XV. *Alexander sets out for India. A digression with regard to that country. He besieges and takes several cities which appeared impregnable, and is often in danger of his life. He crosses the river Indus, and afterwards the Hydaspes, and gains a signal victory over Porus, whom he restores to his throne.*

[f] ALEXANDER, to stop the murmurs and discontents which arose among his soldiers, set out for India. He himself wanted action and motion, for he always, when unemployed, lost part of the glory he had acquired in war. An excess of vanity and folly prompted him to undertake this expedition; a project quite useless in itself, and attended with very dangerous consequences. He had read in the ancient fables of Greece, that Bacchus and Hercules, both sons of Jupiter, like himself, had marched so far. He was determined not to be surpassed by them: and there were not wanting flatterers, who applauded this wild, chimerical design.

These are the things that constitute the glory and merit of such pretended heroes; and it is this which many people, dazzled by a false splendour, still admire in Alexander: a ridiculous desire of rambling up and down the world; of disturbing the tranquillity of nations, who were not bound to him by any obligations; of treating all those as enemies, who should refuse to acknowledge him for their sovereign; of ransacking and extirpating such as should presume to defend their liberties, their possessions, and their lives, against an unjust invader, who came from the extremity of the earth to attack them, without the least shadow of reason. Add to

[f] Q. Curt. l. viii. c. 9.

this glaring injustice, the rash and wild project he had formed, of subduing with infinite labour, and the utmost hazard, many more nations than it was possible for him to keep in subjection; and the sad necessity to which he was reduced, of being perpetually obliged to conquer them anew, and punish them for their rebellion. This is a sketch of what the conquest of India will exhibit to us, after I shall have given some little account of the situation and manners of that country, and of some of its rarities.

Ptolemy divides India into two parts; India on this, and India on the other side of the Ganges. Alexander did not go beyond the former, nor even so far as the Ganges. This first part is situated between two great rivers, the Indus, whence this country receives its name, and the Ganges. Ptolemy says, the limits of it are, to the west, Paropamisus, Arachosia, and Gedrosia, which either form a part, or are upon the confines of the kingdom of Persia: to the north, Mount Imaus, which is part of Great Tartary: to the east, the Ganges: to the south, the Ocean, or Indian Sea.

[s] All the Indians, according to Arrian, are free, and, like the Lacedæmonians, have no slaves among them. The only difference is, the latter make use of foreign slaves, whereas there are none in India. They do not erect any monuments in honour of the dead, but are of opinion, that the reputation of illustrious men is their mausoleum.

They may be divided into seven classes. The first and most honourable, though the least numerous, is that of the Brachmans, who are, as it were, the guardians of religion. I shall have occasion to mention them in the sequel.

The second and greatest is that of the husbandmen. These are had in great esteem. Their only occupation is to cultivate the fields, and they are never taken from this employment to carry arms

[s] Arrian. de Indic. p. 321—328.

and serve in the field: even in time of war, it is an inviolable law, never to molest them or their lands.

The third is that of herdsmen and shepherds, who keep herds and flocks, and never come into cities. They rove up and down the mountains, and often exercise themselves in hunting.

The fourth is of traders and artificers, among whom pilots and seamen are included. These three last orders pay a tribute to the king, and none are exempt from it but those that make arms, who, instead of paying any thing, receive a stipend from the public.

The fifth is of soldiers, whose only improvement is war: they are furnished with all sorts of necessaries; and, in time of peace, are abundantly supplied with all things. Their life, at all times, is free and disengaged from cares of every kind.

The sixth order is that of overseers (Ἐπίσκοποι), who superintend the actions of others, and examine every transaction, either in cities or the country, and report the whole to the prince. The virtues and qualities required in these magistrates are exactness, sincerity, probity, and the love of their country. None of these magistrates, says the historian, have ever been accused of telling an untruth. Thrice happy nation, were this really fact! However, this observation proves at least that truth and justice were had in great honour in this country, and that knavery and insincerity were detested in it.

Lastly, the seventh class consists of persons employed in the public councils, and who share the cares of the government with the sovereign. From this class are taken magistrates, intendants, governors of provinces, generals, and all military officers, whether for land or sea; comptrollers of the treasury, receivers, and all who are intrusted with the public moneys.

These different orders of the state never intermix by marriage; and an artificer, for instance, is not

allowed to take a wife from among the class of husbandmen; and so of the rest. None of these can follow two professions at the same time, nor quit one class for another. It is natural to conclude, that this regulation must have contributed very much to the improvement of all arts and trades; as every one added his own industry and reflections to those of his ancestors, which were delivered down to him by an uninterrupted tradition.

Many observations might be made on these Indian customs, which I am obliged to omit, for the sake of proceeding in my history. I only entreat the reader to observe, that in every wise government, every well governed state, the tilling of lands, and the grazing of cattle (two perpetual and certain sources of riches and abundance), have always been one of the chief objects of the care of those who preside in the administration: and that the neglect of either, in erring against one of the most important maxims in policy.

I also admire very much that custom of appointing overseers, whether they are known for such or not, who go upon the spot, in order to inspect the conduct of governors, intendants, and judges; the only method to prevent the rapine and outrages to which unlimited authority, and the distance from a court, frequently give occasion; the only method, at the same time, for a sovereign to know the state of his kingdom, without which it is impossible for him to govern happily the people whom Providence has intrusted to his care. This care regards him personally; and those who act under him can no more dispense with the discharge of it, than they can usurp his diadem.

It is remarkable, that in India, from the month of June to those of September and October, excessive rains fall very often, whereby the crossing of rivers is rendered much more difficult, and frequent inundations happen. Hence we may judge how greatly, during all this season, the armies of Alex-

ander must have suffered, as they were at that time in the field.

Before I leave what relates in general to India, I shall say a few words concerning the elephants, with which that country abounds more than any other. The elephant exceeds all terrestrial animals in size. Some are thirteen or fifteen feet high. The female goes a whole year with her young. It lives sometimes to the age of a hundred or a hundred and twenty years; nay much longer, if some ancient writers may be credited. Its nose, called its trunk (*proboscis*), is long and hollow, like a large trumpet, and serves the elephant instead of a * hand, which it moves with incredible agility and strength, and thereby is of prodigious service to it. The † elephant, notwithstanding its prodigious size, is so tractable and industrious, that one would be almost apt to conclude it were formed with something like human reason. It is susceptible of affection, fondness, and gratitude, so far as to pine away with sorrow when it has lost its master, and even sometimes to destroy itself when it happens to have ill used or murdered him in the transport of its fury. There is no kind of thing which it cannot be taught. Arrian, whose authority is not to be questioned, relates, that he had seen an elephant dance with two cymbals fixed to his legs, which he struck one after the other in cadence with his trunk; while the rest danced round him, keeping time with a surprising exactness.

He describes very particularly the manner in which they are taken. The Indians enclose a large spot of ground, with a trench of about twenty feet wide, and fifteen high, to which there is access but in one part, and this is a bridge, which is covered

* *Manus data elephantis, quia propter magnitudinem corporis difficiles aditus habebant ad pastum.* Cic. de nat. deor. lib. ii. n. 123.

† *Elephanto belluarum nulla providentior. At figura quæ vastior?* De nat. deor. lib. i. n. 97.

with turf; in order that these animals, who are very subtle, may not suspect any thing. Of the earth that is dug out of the trench, a kind of wall is raised, on the outer side of which a little kind of chamber is made, where people conceal themselves in order to watch these animals, leaving a very small opening. In this enclosure two or three tame female elephants are set. The instant the wild elephants see or smell them, they run and whirl about so much, that at last they enter the enclosure, upon which the bridge is immediately broken down, and the people upon the watch fly to the neighbouring villages for help. After they have been broke for a few days by hunger and thirst, people enter the enclosure upon tame elephants, and with these they attack them. As the wild ones are by this time very much weakened, it is impossible for them to make a long resistance. After throwing them on the ground, men get upon their backs, having first made a deep wound round their necks, about which they throw a rope, in order to put them to great pain, in case they attempt to stir. Being tamed in this manner, they suffer themselves to be led quietly to the houses with the rest, where they are fed with grass and green corn, and gradually tamed by blows and hunger, till such time as they obey readily their master's voice, and perfectly understand his language.

Every one knows the use that was formerly made of these animals in battle; however, they frequently made greater havoc in the army to which they belonged than in that of the enemy, Their teeth, or rather tusks, furnish us with ivory. But it is time to return to Alexander.

[h] This prince having entered India, * all the petty

[h] Quint. Curt. l. viii. c. 9—14. Arrian. l. iv. p. 182—195. l. v. p. 195—221. Plut. in Alex. p. 697—699. Diod. l. xvii. p. 557—559. Justin. l. xii. c. 7, 8.

* Quintus Curtius supposes, that several countries on this side of the Indus, but adjacent to that river, belonged to India, and made part of it.

kings of these countries came to meet him, and make their submissions. They declared that he was the third son of Jupiter, * who had arrived in their country: that they had known Bacchus and Hercules no otherwise than by fame; but as for Alexander, they had the happiness to see him, and to enjoy his presence. The king received them with the utmost courtesy, commanding them to accompany him, and serve him as guides. As no more of them came in to pay their homage, he detached Hephæstion and Perdiccas with part of his forces, to subdue all who should refuse to submit. He ordered them to advance as far as the Indus, and to prepare boats to convey his army across that river. But finding he was obliged to cross several rivers, he caused these boats to be built in such a form, that they could be taken to pieces; the several parts of them carried upon waggons, and afterwards put together again. Then, having commanded Craterus to follow him with his phalanx, he himself marched before, with his cavalry and light-armed troops; and after a slight engagement, he defeated those who had dared to make head against him, and pursued them to the next city, into which they fled. Craterus being come up, the king, in order to terrify, at the first onset, those nations who had not yet felt the power of the Macedonian arms, commanded his soldiers to burn down the fortifications of that place, which he besieged in a regular way, and to put all the inhabitants to the sword. But as he was going round the walls on horseback, he was wounded by an arrow. Notwithstanding this accident, he took the city, after which he made dreadful havoc of all the soldiers and inhabitants, and did not so much as spare the houses.

After subduing this nation, which was of no great consequence, he marched towards the city of Nysa, and encamped pretty near its walls, behind a forest, that hid it. In the mean time, it grew so very cold in the night, that they had never yet felt so exces-

* Could these Greek names of gods be known to the Indians?

sive a chill; but, very happily for them, a remedy was near at hand. They felled a great number of trees, and lighted up several fires, which proved very comfortable to the whole army. The besieged having attempted a sally with ill success, a faction arose in the city, some being of opinion that it would be best for them to surrender, whilst others were for holding out. This coming to the king's ear, he only blocked up the city, and did not do the inhabitants any further injury; till at last, tired out with the length of the siege, they surrendered at discretion, and accordingly were kindly treated by the conqueror. They declared that their city had been built by Bacchus. The whole army, for six days together, celebrated games, and made rejoicings on this mountain, in honour of the god who was there worshipped.

He marched from thence to a country called Dædala, which had been abandoned by the inhabitants, who had fled for shelter to inaccessible mountains, as had also those of Acadera, into which he afterwards entered. This obliged him to change his method of war, and to disperse his forces in different places, by which means the enemy were all defeated at once: no resistance was made any where, and those who were so courageous as to wait the coming up of the Macedonians, were all cut to pieces. Ptolemy took several little cities the instant he set down before them: Alexander carried the large ones, and, after uniting all his forces, passed the river * Choaspes, and left Cœnus to besiege a rich and populous city, called Bazica by the inhabitants. A. M. 3677. Ant. J. C. 327.

He afterwards marched towards Massaga, whose king called Assacanus, was lately dead, and Cleophes, his mother, ruled the province and city. There were thirty thousand foot in it, and both nature and art seemed to have vied with each other in raising its fortifications; for towards the east, it was sur-

* This is not the Choaspes which runs by Susa.

rounded with a very rapid river, the banks of which were steep, and difficult of access; and on the west and south were high craggy rocks; at the foot whereof were caves, which, through length of time, had increased into a kind of abysses; and where these failed, a trench of an astonishing depth was digged with incredible labour.

Whilst Alexander was going round the city, to view its fortifications, he was shot by an arrow in the calf of his leg; but he only pulled out the weapon, and, without so much as binding up the wound, mounted his horse, and continued to view the outward fortifications of the city. But as he rode with his leg downward, and the congealing of the blood put him to great pain, it is related that he cried, * "Every one swears that I am the son of "Jupiter, but my wound makes me sensible that I "am a man." However, he did not leave the place till he had seen every thing; and given all the necessary orders. Some of the soldiers, therefore, demolished such houses as stood without the city, and with the rubbish, filled up the gulfs above mentioned. Others threw great trunks of trees and huge stones into them; and all laboured with so much vigour, that in nine days the works were completed, and the towers were raised upon them.

The king, without waiting till his wound was healed, visited the works, and after applauding the soldiers for their great dispatch, caused the engines to be brought forward, whence a great number of darts were discharged against those who defended the walls. But that which most terrified the barbarians, was those towers of a vast height, which seemed to them to move of themselves. This made them imagine, that they were made to advance by the gods; and that those battering-rams which beat

* *Omnes jurant me Jovis esse filium, sed vulnus hoc hominem esse me clamat.* SENEC. Epist. lix.

down walls, and the javelins thrown by engines, the like of which they had never seen, could not be the effect of human strength: so that, persuaded that it would be impossible for them to defend the city, they withdrew into the citadel; but not finding themselves more secure there, they sent ambassadors to propose a surrender. The queen afterwards came and met Alexander, attended by a great number of ladies, who all brought him wine in cups, by way of sacrifice. The king gave her a very gracious reception, and restored her to her kingdom.

From hence Polysperchon was sent with an army to besiege the city of Ora, which he soon took. Most of its inhabitants had withdrawn to the rock called Aornos. There was a tradition, that Hercules having besieged this rock, an earthquake had forced him to quit the siege. There are not on this rock, as on many others, gentle declivities of easy access; but it rises like a bank; and being very wide at bottom, grows narrower all the way to the top, which terminates in a point. The river Indus, whose source is not far from this place, flows at the bottom, its banks being perpendicular and high; and on the other side were vast morasses, which it was necessary to fill up before the rock could be taken. Very happily for the Macedonians they were near a forest. This the king caused to be cut down, commanding the soldiers to carry off nothing but the trunks, the branches of which were lopped, in order that they might be carried with the less difficulty; and he himself threw the first trunk into the morass. The army seeing this, shouted for joy, and every soldier labouring with incredible diligence, the work was finished in seven days; immediately after which the attack began. The officers were of opinion, that it would not be proper for the king to expose himself on this occasion, the danger being evidently too great. However, the trumpet had no sooner sounded, than this prince, who was not master of his courage, commanded his guards to follow, himself first.

climbing the rock. At this sight it appeared no longer inaccessible, and every one flew after him. Never were soldiers exposed to greater danger; but they were all resolved to conquer or die. Several fell from the rock into the river, whose whirlpools swallowed them up. The barbarians rolled great stones on the foremost, who being scarce able to keep up their feet (the rock was so slippery), fell down the precipices, and were dashed to pieces. No sight could possibly be more dismal than this; the king, greatly afflicted at the loss of so many brave soldiers, caused a retreat to be sounded. Nevertheless, though he had lost all hopes of taking the place, and was determined to raise the siege, he acted as if he intended to continue, and accordingly gave orders for bringing forward the towers and other engines. The besieged, by way of insult, made great rejoicings; and continued their festivity for two days and two nights, making the rock and the whole neighbourhood echo with the sound of their drums and cymbals. But the third night they were not heard, and the Macedonians were surprised to see every part of the rock illuminated with torches. The king was informed, that the Indians had lighted them to assist their flight, and to guide them the more easily among the precipices, during the obscurity of the night. Immediately the whole army, by Alexander's order, shouted aloud, which terrified the fugitives so much, that several of them fancying they saw the enemy, flung themselves from the top of the rock, and perished miserably. The king having so happily and unexpectedly possessed himself of the rock, in an almost miraculous manner, thanked the gods, and offered sacrifices in their honour.

From hence he marched towards Ecbolimus, which he took, and after sixteen days' march arrived at the river Indus, where he found that Hephæstion had got all things ready for his passage, pursuant to the orders given him. The king of the

country, called Omphis, whose father died some time before, had sent to Alexander, to know whether he would give him leave to wear the crown. Notwithstanding he had received this permission, he nevertheless delayed assuming it till his arrival. He then went to meet him with his whole army; and when Alexander was advanced pretty near, he pushed forward his horse, came up singly to him, and the king did the same. The Indian then told him by an interpreter, "that he was come to meet "him at the head of his army, in order to deliver "up all his forces into his hands: that he sur-"rendered his person and his kingdom to a mon-"arch, who, he was sensible, fought only with the "view of acquiring glory, and dreaded nothing so "much as treachery." The king, greatly satisfied with the frankness of the barbarian, gave him his hand, and restored him his kingdom. He then made Alexander a present of fifty-six elephants, and a great number of other animals of prodigious size. Alexander asking him which were most necessary to him, husbandmen or soldiers? he replied, that as he was at war with two kings, the latter were of greatest service to him. These two monarchs were Abisares and Porus, the latter of whom was the most powerful, and the dominions of both were situated on the other side of the Hydaspes. Omphis assumed the diadem, and took the name of Taxilus, by which the kings of that country were usually called. He made magnificent presents to Alexander, who did not suffer himself to be exceeded in generosity.

The next day, ambassadors from Abisares waiting upon the king, surrendered up to him, pursuant to the power given them, all the dominions of their sovereign; and after a promise of fidelity had been given on both sides, they returned back.

Alexander expecting that Porus, astonished with the report of his glory, would not fail to submit to him, sent a message to that prince, as if he had been

his vassal, requiring him to pay tribute, and meet him upon the frontiers of his dominions. Porus answered with great composure, that he would meet him upon the frontiers, but it should be sword in hand. At the same time a reinforcement of thirty elephants, which were of great service, were sent to Alexander. He gave the superintendence of all his elephants to Taxilus, and advanced as far as the banks of the Hydaspes. Porus was encamped on the other side of it, in order to dispute the passage with him; and had posted at the head of his army eighty-five elephants of a prodigious size, and behind them three hundred chariots, supported by thirty thousand foot; he had not at most above seven thousand horse. This prince was mounted on an elephant much larger than any of the rest, and he himself exceeded the usual stature of men; so that, clothed in his armour glittering with gold and silver, he appeared at the same time terrible and majestic. The greatness of his courage equalled that of his stature, and he was as wise and prudent as it was possible for the monarch of so barbarous a people to be.

The Macedonians dreaded not only the enemy, but the river they were obliged to pass. It was four furlongs wide (about four hundred fathoms), and so deep in every part, that it looked like a sea, and was no where fordable. It was vastly impetuous notwithstanding its great breadth; for it rolled with as much violence, as if it had been confined to a narrow channel; and its raging, foaming waves, which broke in many places, discovered that it was full of stones and rocks. However, nothing was so dreadful as the appearance of the shore, which was quite covered with men, horses, and elephants. Those hideous animals stood like so many towers, and the Indians exasperated them, in order that the horrid cry they made might fill the enemy with greater terror. However, this could not intimidate an army of men, whose courage was proof against

all attacks, and who were emboldened by an uninterrupted series of prosperity; but then they did not think it would be possible for them, as their barks were so crazy, to surmount the rapidity of the stream, or land with safety.

This river was full of little islands, to which the Indians and Macedonians used to swim, with their arms over their heads; and slight skirmishes took place every day in the sight of the two kings, who were well pleased to try their strength in these small excursions, and to form a judgment from such skirmishes of the success of a general battle. There were two young officers in Alexander's army, Ægesimachus and Nicanor, men of equal intrepidity, and who, having been ever successful, despised dangers of every kind. They took with them the bravest youths in the whole army; and with no other weapons than their javelins, swam to an island in which several of the enemy were landed; where, with scarce any other assistance but their intrepidity, they made a great slaughter. After this bold stroke, they might have retired with glory, were it possible for rashness, when successful, to keep within bounds. But as they waited with contempt, and an insulting air, for those who came to succour their companions, they were surrounded by a band of soldiers, who had swum unperceived to the island, and overwhelmed with the darts which were shot from far. Those who endeavoured to save themselves by swimming, were either carried away by the waves, or swallowed up by the whirlpools. The courage of Porus, who saw all this from the shore, was surprisingly increased by this success.

Alexander was in great perplexity; and finding he could not pass the Hydaspes by force of arms, he therefore resolved to have recourse to artifice. Accordingly he caused his cavalry to attempt several times to pass it in the night, and to shout as if they really intended to ford the river, all things being prepared for that purpose. Immediately Porus hur-

ried thither with his elephants, but Alexander continued in battle-array on the bank. This stratagem having been attempted several times, and Porus finding the whole but mere noise and empty menaces, he took no further notice of these motions, and only sent scouts to every part of the shore. Alexander being now no longer apprehensive of having the whole army of the enemy fall upon him, in his attempting to cross the river in the night, began to resolve seriously to pass it.

There was in this river, at a considerable distance from Alexander's camp, an island of a greater extent than either of the rest, which being covered with trees, was well suited to conceal his design, and therefore he resolved to attempt the passage that way. However, the better to conceal the knowledge of it from the enemy, and deceive them on this occasion, he left Craterus in his camp with a great part of the army, with orders for them to make a great noise, at a certain time which should be appointed, in order to alarm the Indians, and make them believe that he was preparing to cross the river; but that he should not attempt this, till such time as Porus should have raised his camp, and marched away his elephants, either to withdraw or advance towards those Macedonians who should attempt the passage. Between the camp and the island he had posted Meleager and Gorgias with the foreign horse and foot, with orders for them to pass over in bodies, the instant they should see him engaged in battle.

After giving these orders, he took the rest of his army, as well cavalry as infantry; and, wheeling off from the shore, in order to avoid being perceived, he advanced in the night-time towards the island into which he was resolved to go; and the better to deceive the enemy, Alexander caused his tent to be pitched in the camp where he had left Craterus, which was opposite to that of Porus. His life-guards were drawn up round, in all the pomp

and splendour with which the majesty of a great king is usually surrounded. He also caused a royal robe to be put upon Attalus, who was of the same age with himself, and so much resembled the king, both in stature and features, especially at so great a distance as the breadth of the river, that the enemy might suppose Alexander himself was on the bank, and was attempting the passage in that place. He, however, was by this time got to the island above-mentioned; and immediately landed upon it from boats, with the rest of his troops, whilst the enemy was employed in opposing Craterus. But on a sudden a furious storm arose, which seemed as if it would retard the execution of his project, yet proved of advantage to it; for so fortunate was this prince, that obstacles changed into advantages and succours in his favour. The storm was succeeded by a very violent shower, with impetuous winds, flashes of lightning and thunder, insomuch that there was no hearing or seeing any thing. Any man but Alexander would have abandoned his design; but he, on the contrary, was animated by the very danger, not to mention that the noise, the confusion, and the darkness, assisted his passage. He thereupon made the signal for the embarkation of his troops, and went off himself in the first boat. It is reported that it was on this occasion he cried out, "O Athenians, could you believe that I would "expose myself to such dangers to merit your "applause!" And, indeed, nothing could contribute more to eternize his name, than the having his actions recorded by such great historians as Thucydides and Xenophon;[1] and so anxious was he about the character which would be given him after his death, that he wished it were possible for him to return again into the world only so long as was necessary to know what impression the perusal of his history would make on the minds of men.

Scarce any person appeared to oppose their landing, because Porus was wholly taken up with Cra-

[1] Lucian de conscrib. hist. p. 694.

terus, and imagined he had nothing to do but to oppose his passage. Immediately this general, pursuant to his orders, made a prodigious clamour, and seemed disposed to attempt the passage of the river. Upon this all the boats came to shore, one excepted, which the waves dashed to pieces against a rock. The moment Alexander was landed, he drew up in order of battle his little army, consisting of six thousand foot and five thousand horse. He himself headed the latter; and, having commanded the foot to make all imaginable dispatch after him, he marched before. It was his firm opinion, that in case the Indians should oppose him with their whole force, his cavalry would give him infinite advantage over them; and that, at all events, he might easily continue fighting till his foot should come up; or, that in case the enemy, alarmed at the news of his having passed the river, should fly, it would then be in his power to pursue, and make a great slaughter of them.

Porus, upon hearing that Alexander had passed the river, had sent against him a detachment, commanded by one of his sons, of two thousand horse and one hundred and twenty chariots. Alexander imagined them at first to be the enemy's van-guard, and that the whole army was behind them; but, being informed it was but a detachment, he charged them with such vigour, that Porus's son was killed upon the spot, with four hundred horses, and all the chariots were taken. Each of these chariots carried six men; two were armed with bucklers, two bowmen sat on each side, and two guided the chariot, who nevertheless always fought when the battle grew warm, having a great number of darts which they discharged at the enemy. But all these did little execution that day, because the rain, which had fallen in great abundance, had moistened the earth to such a degree, that the horses could scarce stand upon their legs; and the chariots being very heavy, most of them sunk very deep into the mud.

Porus, upon receiving advice of the death of his

son, the defeat of the detachment, and of Alexander's approach, was in doubt whether it would be proper for him to continue in his post, because Craterus, with the rest of the Macedonian army made a feint as if they intended to pass the river. However, he at last resolved to go and meet Alexander, whom he justly supposed to be at the head of the choicest troops of his army. Accordingly, leaving only a few elephants in his camp, to amuse those who were posted on the opposite shore, he set out with thirty thousand foot, four thousand horse, three hundred chariots, and two hundred elephants. Being come into a firm, sandy soil, in which his horses and chariots might wheel about with ease, he drew up his army in battle-array, with an intent to wait the coming up of the enemy. He posted in front, and on the first line, all the elephants at a hundred feet distance one from the other, in order that they might serve as a bulwark to his foot, who were behind. It was his opinion, that the enemy's cavalry would not dare to engage in these intervals, because of the fear their horses would have of the elephants; and much less the infantry, when they should see that of the enemy posted behind the elephants, and themselves in danger of being trod to pieces by those animals. He had posted some of his foot on the same line with the elephants, in order to cover their right and left; and this infantry was covered by his two wings of horse, before which the chariots were posted. Such was the order and disposition of Porus's army.

Alexander being come in sight of the enemy, halted to wait the coming up of his foot, which marched with the utmost diligence, and arrived a little after: and in order that they might have time to take breath, and not be led, fatigued as they were, against the enemy, he caused his horse to make a great many evolutions, in order to gain time. But now every thing being ready, and the infantry having sufficiently recovered their vigour,

Alexander gave the signal of battle. He did not think proper to begin by attacking the enemy's main body, where the infantry and the elephants were posted, for the very reason which had made Porus draw them up in that manner: but his cavalry being stronger, he drew out the greatest part of them; and marching against the left wing, sent Cœnus with his own regiment of horse, and that of Demetrius, to charge them at the same time; ordering him to attack the cavalry on the left, in the rear, while he himself would charge them both in front and flank. Seleucus, Antigonus, and Tauron, who commanded the foot, were ordered not to stir from their posts, till Alexander's cavalry had put that of the enemy, as well as their foot, into disorder.

Being come within arrow-shot, he detached a thousand bowmen on horseback, with orders for them to make their discharge on the horse of Porus's left wing, in order to throw it into disorder, whilst he himself should charge this body in flank, before it had time to rally. The Indians, having closed their squadrons, advanced against Alexander. At that instant Cœnus charged them in the rear, according to the orders given him; so that the Indians were obliged to face about on all sides, to defend themselves from the thousand bowmen, and against Alexander and Cœnus. Alexander, to make the best advantage of the confusion into which this sudden evolution had thrown them, charged with great vigour those that made head against him, who being no longer able to stand so violent an attack, were soon broke, and retired behind the elephants, as to an impregnable rampart. The leaders of the elephants made them advance against the enemy's horse; but that very instant, the Macedonian phalanx moving on a sudden, surrounded those animals, and charged with their pikes the elephants themselves and their leaders. This battle was very different from all those which

Alexander had hitherto fought; for the elephants rushing upon the battalions, broke, with inexpressible fury, the thickest of them; when the Indian horse, seeing the Macedonian foot stopped by the elephants, returned to the charge: however, that of Alexander being stronger, and having greater experience in war, broke this body a second time, and obliged it again to retire towards the elephants; upon which the Macedonian horse being all united in one body, spread terror and confusion wherever they attacked. The elephants being all covered with wounds, and the greatest part having lost their leaders, no longer observed their usual order; but, frantic as it were with pain, no longer distinguished friends from foes, but running about from place to place, they overthrew every thing that came in their way. The Macedonians, who had purposely left a greater interval between their battalions, either made way for them wherever they came forward, or charged with darts those that fear and the tumult obliged to retire. Alexander, after having surrounded the enemy with his horse, made a signal to his foot to march up with all imaginable speed, in order to make a last effort, and to fall upon them with his whole force; all which they executed very successfully. In this manner the greatest part of the Indian cavalry were cut to pieces; and a body of their foot, which sustained no less loss, seeing themselves charged on all sides, at last fled. Craterus, who had continued in the camp with the rest of his army, seeing Alexander engaged with Porus, crossed the river, and charging the routed soldiers with his troops, who were fresh and vigorous, killed as many enemies in the retreat as had fallen in the battle.

The Indians lost on this occasion twenty thousand foot and three thousand horse; not to mention the chariots which were all broken to pieces, and the elephants, all of which were either killed or taken. Porus's two sons fell in this battle, with

Spitacus, governor of the province; all the colonels of horse and foot, and those who guided the elephants and chariots. As for Alexander, he lost but fourscore of the six thousand soldiers who were at the first charge, ten bowmen of the horse, twenty of his horse-guards, and two hundred common soldiers.

Porus, after having performed all the duties both of a soldier and a general in the battle, and fought with intrepid bravery, seeing all his horse defeated, and the greatest part of his foot, did not behave like the great king Darius, who, on a like disaster, was the first that fled; on the contrary, he continued in the field as long as one battalion or squadron stood their ground; but at last, having received a wound in the shoulder, he retired upon his elephant; and was easily distinguished from the rest, by the greatness of his stature, and his unparalleled bravery. Alexander, finding who he was by those glorious marks, and being desirous of saving him, sent Taxilus after him, because he was of the same nation. The latter advancing as near to him as he might, without running any danger of being wounded, called out to him to stop, in order to hear the message he had brought him from Alexander. Porus turning back, and seeing it was Taxilus, his old enemy: "How!" says he, "is it not Taxilus that calls, "that traitor to his country and kingdom?" Immediately after which, he would have transfixed him with his dart, had he not instantly retired. Notwithstanding this, Alexander being still desirous to save so brave a prince, dispatched other officers, among whom was Meroe, one of his intimate friends, who besought him, in the strongest terms, to wait upon a conqueror altogether worthy of him. After much entreaty, Porus consented, and accordingly set forward. Alexander, who had been told of his coming, advanced forwards in order to receive him with some of his train. Being come pretty near, Alexander stopped, purposely to take

a view of his stature and noble mien, he being above five cubits in height.* Porus did not seem dejected at his misfortune, but came up with a resolute countenance, like a valiant warrior, whose courage in defending his dominions ought to acquire him the esteem of the brave prince who had conquered him. Alexander spoke first, and with an august and gracious air, asked him how he desired to be treated? "Like a king," replied Porus. "But," continued Alexander, "do you ask nothing "more?" "No," replied Porus; "all things are "included in that single word." Alexander, struck with this greatness of soul, which seemed heightened by the distress of that prince, did not only restore him his kingdom, but annexed other provinces to it, and treated him with the highest testimonies of honour, esteem, and friendship. Porus was faithful to him till his death. It is hard to say, whether the victor or the vanquished best deserved praise on this occasion.

Alexander built a city on the spot where the battle had been fought, and another in that place where he had crossed the river. He called the one Nicæa, from his victory; and the other Bucephala, in honour of his horse, who died there, not of his wounds, but of old age. After having paid the last duties to such of his soldiers as had lost their lives in battle, he solemnized games, and offered up sacrifices of thanks, in the place where he had passed the Hydaspes.

This prince did not know to whom he was indebted for his victories. We are astonished at the rapidity of Alexander's conquests; the ease with which he surmounts the greatest obstacles, and forces almost impregnable cities; the uninterrupted and unheard-of felicity that extricates him out of those dangers into which his rashness plunges him, and in which, one would have concluded, he must

* Seven feet and a half.

a hundred times have perished. But to unravel these mysterious kinds of events, several of which are repugnant to the usual course of things, we must go back to a superior cause, unknown to the profane historians and to Alexander himself. This monarch was, like Cyrus, the minister and instrument of the Sovereign Disposer of empires, who raises and destroys them at pleasure. He had received the same commission to overthrow the Persian and eastern empires, as Cyrus to destroy that of Babylon. The same Power conducted their enterprises, assured them of success, protected and preserved them from all dangers, till they had executed their commission, and completed their ministry. We may apply to Alexander, the words which God spake concerning Cyrus in Isaiah.[k] "Cyrus, whose right hand I have holden, to sub- "due nations before him; and I will loose the loins "of kings, to open before him the two-leaved gates; "and the gates shall not be shut: I will go before "thee, and make the crooked places straight: I will "break in pieces the gates of brass, and cut in sun- "der the bars of iron. And I will give thee the "treasures of darkness, and hidden riches of secret "places.——I girded thee, though thou hast not "known me." This is the true and only cause of the incredible success with which this conqueror was attended; of his unparalleled bravery; the affection his soldiers had for him; that anticipation of good fortune, and that assurance of success, which astonished his most intrepid captains.

[k] Chap. xiv. 1—5.

SECT. XVI. *Alexander advances into India. A digression relating to the Brachmans. That prince resolves to march as far as the Ganges, which raises a general discontent in his army. Remonstrances being made to him on that account, he lays aside his design, and is contented with going no farther than the ocean. He subdues all obstacles in his way thither, and is exposed to great danger at the siege of the city of the Oxydracæ; and arriving at last at the ocean, he afterwards prepares for his return into Europe.*

[1] ALEXANDER, after his famous victory over Porus, advanced into India, where he subdued a great many nations and cities. He looked upon himself as a conqueror by profession as well as by his dignity, and engaged every day in new exploits with so much ardour and vivacity, that he seemed to fancy himself invested with a personal commission, and that there was an immediate obligation upon him to storm all cities, to lay waste all provinces, to extirpate all nations, which should refuse his yoke; and that he should have considered himself as guilty of a crime, had he forborne visiting every corner of the earth, and carrying terror and desolation wherever he went. He passed the Accsines, and afterwards the Hydraotes, two considerable rivers. Advice was then brought him, that a great number of free Indians had made a confederacy to defend their liberties; and among the rest, the Cathæans, who were the most valiant and most skilful of those nations in the art of war; and that they were encamped near a strong city, called Sangala. Alexander set out against these Indians, defeated them in a pitched battle, took the city, and razed it to the very foundations. A. M. 3677. Ant. J. C. 327.

[1] Q. Curt. lib. ix. cap. 1.

[m] One day, as he was riding at the head of his army, some philosophers, called Brachmans in the language of that country, were conversing together as they were walking in a meadow. The instant they perceived him, they all stamped against the ground with their feet. Alexander, surprised at this extraordinary gesture, demanded the cause of it. They answered, pointing to the ground with their fingers, "That no man possessed any more of "that element than he could enjoy: that the only "difference between him and other men, was, that "he was more restless and ambitious than they, "and overran all seas and lands, merely to do harm "to others and himself: and yet—he would die at "last, and possess no greater part of the earth than "was necessary for his interment." The king was not displeased at this answer: but he was hurried on by the torrent of glory, and his actions were the very reverse of what he approved.

These Brachmans, says Arrian, are held in great veneration in their country. They do not pay any tribute to the prince, but assist him with their counsel, and perform the same offices as the Magi do to the kings of Persia. They assist at the public sacrifices; and if a person desires to sacrifice in private, one of these must be present, otherwise the Indians are persuaded the sacrifice would not be agreeable to the gods. They apply themselves particularly to consulting the stars; none but themselves exercise the art of divination; and they foretel, chiefly, the change of the weather and of the seasons. If a Brachman has failed thrice in his predictions, he is silenced for ever.

Their sentiments, according to Strabo, are not very different from those of the Greeks. They believe that the world had a beginning; that it will end; that its form is circular; that it was created

[m] Arrian. lib. vii. p. 275, 276. Id. in Indic. p. 324. Strab. lib. xv. p. 715—717. Plut. in Alex. p. 701. Q. Curt. lib. viii. c. 9.

by God, who presides over, and fills it, with his majesty; and that water is the principle of all things. With regard to the immortality of the soul, and the punishment of the wicked in hell, they follow the doctrine of Plato; intermixing with it, like that philosopher, some fictions, in order to express or describe those punishments.

Several among them go always naked, whence the Greeks give them the name of Gymnosophists. Many incredible particulars are related, concerning the austerity of their lives and their prodigious patience. Their only meat and drink is roots and water. As they admit the metempsychosis, and believe that the souls of men transmigrate from their bodies into those of beasts, they abstain from the flesh of animals. It is thought that Pythagoras borrowed this doctrine from the Brachmans. They continue whole days standing with their faces towards the sun, and that in the season when this luminary darts its rays with the greatest violence. Persuaded that it is beneath the dignity of a man to wait calmly for death, when he finds himself oppressed by age or sickness, they hold it glorious to anticipate their last hour, and burn themselves alive; and, indeed, they pay no honours to those who die merely of old age; and imagine they would pollute their funeral pile, and the fire that is to burn them to ashes, should they go into it otherwise than full of life and vigour. Other Brachmans, more judicious and humane than the former, live in cities, and associate with mankind; and so far from considering self-murder as a virtuous or brave action, they look upon it as a weakness in man not to wait patiently the stroke of death, and as a crime to dare to anticipate the will of the gods.

Cicero admires, in his Tusculan questions, the invincible patience, not only of the Indian sages, but also of the * women of that country, who used

* *Mulieres in Indiâ cùm est cujusque earum vir mortuus, in certamen judiciumque veniunt, quam plurimùm ille dilexerit; plures*

to contest for the honour of dying with their common husband. This privilege was reserved for that wife whom the husband had loved most affectionately; and was given in her favour by the sentence of persons appointed for that purpose, who never gave judgment till such time as they had made a strict examination, and heard the allegations on all sides. The wife on whom the preference was bestowed, ran to meet death, and ascended the funeral pile, with incredible resolution and joy; whilst the surviving wives withdrew in the deepest transports of affliction, and with their eyes bathed in tears.

The description which [n] Porphyry has left us of these philosophers, resembles in many particulars that given above. According to this author, the Brachmans live on herbs, roots, and fruits. They abstain from animals of every kind, and if they touch any, they thereby render themselves unclean. They spend the greatest part of the day and night in singing hymns in honour of their gods. They fast and pray perpetually. The greatest part of them live alone, and in the deepest solitude, and neither marry nor possess any thing. They wish for nothing so earnestly as death; and considering this life as a burthen, they wait impatiently for the moment when the soul will be separated from the body.

These philosophers exist still in India, where they are called *Bramins;* and retain, in many points, the tradition and tenets of the ancient Brachmans.

Alexander passing near a city wherein several of these Brachmans dwelt, was very desirous to converse with them, and, if possible, to prevail with some of them to follow him. Being informed that these philosophers never made visits, but that those who

enim singulis solent esse nuptæ. Quæ est victrix, ea læta, prosequentibus suis, unà cum viro in rogum imponitur: illa victa mœsta discedit. Tusc. Quæst. lib. v. n. 78.

[n] Lib. de Abstin. Animal.

had an inclination to see them must go to their houses, he concluded that it would be beneath his dignity to go to them, and not just to force these sages to any thing contrary to their laws and usages. Onesicritus, who was a great philosopher, and had been a disciple of Diogenes the Cynic, was deputed to them. He met not far from the city, with fifteen, who from morning till evening stood always naked, in the same posture in which they at first had placed themselves, and afterwards returned to the city at night. He addressed himself first to Calanus, and told him the occasion of his coming. The latter, gazing upon Onesicritus's clothes and shoes, could not forbear laughing; after which he told him, "That anciently the earth had been co-"vered with barley and wheat, as it was at that "time with dust; that besides water, the rivers "used to flow with milk, honey, oil, and wine: "that man's guilt had occasioned a change of this "happy condition; and that Jupiter, to punish "their ingratitude, had sentenced them to a long, "painful labour. That their repentance afterwards "moving him to compasssion, he had restored them "their former abundance: however, that by the "course of things, they seemed to be returning to "their ancient confusion." This relation shows evidently, that these philosophers had some notion of the felicity of the first man, and of the toil to which he had been sentenced for his sin.

After this conversation, Onesicritus spoke to Mandanis, the eldest, and as it were, the superior of the band. This Brachman said, "That he "thought Alexander worthy of admiration, in seek-"ing thus for wisdom in the midst of the cares of "his government: * that he was the first, who "had ever united in himself the two characters of "conqueror and philosopher; that it were to be

* Μόνον γὰρ ἴδοι ἀνδρὰ ἐν ὅπλοις φιλοσοφοῦντα.

" wished, that the latter character were the attri-
" bute of those who could inspire the wisdom which
" they themselves possessed, and enjoin it by their
" authority." He added, that he could not conceive the motive which had prompted Alexander to undertake so long and laborious a journey, nor what he came in search of, in so remote a country.

Onesicritus was very urgent with both of them to quit their austere way of life, and follow the fortune of Alexander, saying, that they would find in him a generous master and benefactor, who would heap upon them honours and riches of all kinds. Then Mandanis assuming a haughty, philosophical tone, answered, " That he did not want
" Alexander, and was the son of Jupiter as well as
" himself: that he was exempted from want, de-
" sire, or fear: that so long as he should live, the
" earth would furnish him all things necessary for
" his subsistence, and that death would rid him of
" a troublesome companion (meaning his body),
" and set him at full liberty." Calanus was more tractable; and, notwithstanding the opposition, and even the prohibition of his superior, who reproached him for his abject spirit, in stooping so low as to serve another master besides God, he followed Onesicritus, and went to Alexander's court, who received him with great demonstrations of joy.

We find by a circumstance which history has recorded, that this people used often to employ parables and similitudes for conveying their thoughts. One day as he was discoursing with Alexander, upon the maxims of wise policy and a prudent administration, he exhibited to that prince a sensible image, and a natural emblem of his empire. He laid upon the ground a great ox-hide, which was very dry and shrunk up, and then set his foot upon one end of it. The hide being pressed so gave way, and all the other ends flew up: going thus quite round the hide, and pressing the several edges of it,

he made him observe, that whilst he lowered it on one side all the rest rose up, till treading at last upon the middle, the hide fell equally on all sides. By this image he hinted to him, that it would be proper for him to reside in the centre of his dominions, and not undertake such long journeys. We shall soon show the reader the manner in which this philosopher ended his days.

* Alexander being determined to continue the war as long as he should meet with new nations, and to look upon them as enemies whilst they should live independent on him, was meditating about passing the Hyphasis. He was told that after passing that river he must travel eleven days through deserts, and that then he would arrive at the Ganges, the greatest river in all India. That farther in the country lived the Gangaridæ and the Prasii, whose king was preparing to oppose his entering his dominions, at the head of twenty thousand horse, and two hundred thousand foot, reinforced by two thousand chariots; and, which struck the greatest terror, with three thousand elephants. A report of this being spread through the army, struck all the soldiers with consternation, and raised a general murmur. The Macedonians, who, after having traversed so many countries, and being grown grey in the field, were incessantly directing their eyes and wishes towards their dear native country, made loud complaints that Alexander should every day heap war upon war, and danger on danger. They had undergone, but just before, inexpressible fatigues, having been exposed to rain, accompanied with storms and thunder, for above two months. Some bewailed their calamities in such terms as raised compassion; others insolently cried aloud, that they would march no farther.

* Q. Curt. l. ix. c. 1—9. Arrian. l. v. p. 221—234. & l. vi. p. 235—259. Plut. in Alex. p. 699, 701. Diod. l. xvii. p. 559—570. Justin. l. xii. c. 9, 10.

Alexander, being informed of this tumult, and learning that secret assemblies were held in his camp, to prevent the ill consequences of them, sent for the officers into his tent, and commanding them to call the soldiers together, he made the following speech: "I am not ignorant, O soldiers, that the "Indians have spread abroad many reports, pur- "posely to terrify us; but such discourses and ar- "tifices are not unusual to you. Thus the Persians "described the straits of Cilicia, the vast plains of "Mesopotamia, the rivers Tigris and Euphrates, "as so many insurmountable difficulties, and yet "your bravery conquered them. Do you repent you "have followed me thus far? As your glorious deeds "have subdued for you a multitude of provinces, "as you have extended your conquests beyond the "Iaxartes and mount Caucasus; as you see the "rivers of India flow through the midst of your "empire; why are you afraid of crossing the Hy- "phasis, and of setting up your trophies on the "banks of it, as on those of the Hydaspes? What! "can the elephants, whose number is so falsely "augmented, terrify you to such a degree? But has "not experience taught you, that they are more "destructive to their own masters than to the ene- "my? Endeavours are used to intimidate you by "the dreadful idea of innumerable armies; but are "they more numerous than those of Darius? It is "sure too late for you to count the legions of the "enemy, after your victories have made Asia a "desert. It was when you crossed the Hellespont "that you ought to have reflected on the small "number of our forces: but now the Scythians "form part of our army; the Bactrians, the Sog- "dians, and the Dahæ, are with us, and fight for "our glory. I, however, do not depend on those, "barbarians. It is on you only that I rely; your "victorious arms alone are present to my imagina- "tion; and your courage alone ensures me success. "So long as I shall be surrounded with you in fight,

"I shall not have any occasion to count the num-
"ber of my troops nor that of the enemy, provided
"you go on to battle with the same marks of joy
"and confidence you have hitherto discovered.
"Not only our glory, but even our safety, is at
"stake. Should we now retreat, it will be sup-
"posed that we fly before our enemies, and from
"that moment we shall appear as mean as the
"enemy will be judged formidable; for you are
"sensible, that in war reputation is every thing.
"It is in my power to make use of authority, and
"yet I employ entreaties only. Do not abandon
"(I conjure you), I do not say your king and
"master, but your pupil and companion in arms.
"Do not break to pieces in my hand that glorious
"palm, which will soon, unless envy rob me of so
"great a glory, equal me to Hercules and to Bac-
"chus." As the soldiers stood with their eyes cast on the ground, and did not once open their lips, "What! (continued he) do I then speak to the "deaf? Will no one listen to me, nor condescend "to answer? Alas! I am abandoned, I am be-
"trayed, I am delivered up to the enemy. But—
"I will advance still farther, though I go alone.
"The Scythians and Bactrians, more faithful than
"you, will follow me whithersoever I lead them.
"Return then to your country, and boast, ye cow-
"ardly deserters of your king, that you have aban-
"doned him. As for myself, I will here meet
"either with the victory you despair of, or with a
"glorious death, which henceforwards ought to be
"the sole object of my wishes."

Notwithstanding this lively, pathetic speech, the soldiers still kept a profound silence. They waited in expectation of hearing their commanders and chief officers remonstrate to the king, that their affection was as strong as ever; but that as their bodies were covered with wounds, and worn out with toils, it would be impossible for them to continue the war. However, not one of them

presumed to address him in their favour. The example of Clitus, and that of Callisthenes, were still recent. The officers, who were then with him, had a hundred times ventured their lives in battle for their prince; but they had not the courage to hazard the losing of their fortunes by telling him the truth. Whilst therefore the soldiers, as well as officers, continued dumb, without once daring to lift up their eyes, there rose on a sudden a murmur, which increasing by insensible degrees, broke into such deep groans and floods of tears, that the king himself, whose anger was now changed into compassion, could not forbear weeping.

At last, whilst the whole assembly were in tears, and in deep silence, Cœnus took courage, and drew near to the throne, discovering by his air and action, that he desired to speak. And when the soldiers saw him take off his helmet, that being the custom when any person spoke to the king, they besought him to plead the cause of the army; and accordingly he spoke as follows: "No, Sir, we are not "changed with regard to our affection for you: "God forbid that so great a calamity should ever "befall us. We still have and shall always retain the "same zeal, the same affection and fidelity. We are "ready to follow you at the hazard of our lives, and "to march whithersoever you shall think fit to lead "us. But if your soldiers may be allowed to lay "before you their sentiments sincerely, and without disguise, they beseech you to condescend so "far as to give ear to their respectful complaints, "which nothing but the most extreme necessity "could have extorted from them. The greatness, "Sir, of your exploits has conquered, not only "your enemies, but even your soldiers themselves. "We have done all that it was possible for men to "do. We have crossed seas and lands. We shall "soon have marched to the end of the world; and "you are meditating the conquest of another, by "going in search of new Indias, unknown to the

" Indians themselves. Such a thought may be " worthy of your valour, but it surpasses ours, and " our strength still more. Behold those ghastly " faces, and those bodies covered over with wounds " and scars. You are sensible how numerous we " were at your first setting out, and you see what " now remains of us. The few, who have escaped " so many toils and dangers, have neither courage " nor strength enough to follow you. All of them " long to revisit their relations and country, and to " enjoy in peace the fruit of their labours and your " victories. Forgive them a desire natural to all " men. It will be glorious, Sir, for you to have " fixed such boundaries to your fortune, as only " your moderation could prescribe you; and to " have vanquished yourself, after having conquer- " ed all your enemies."

Cœnus had no sooner spoken, but there were heard, on all sides, cries and confused voices, intermixed with tears, calling upon the king as " their lord and their father." Afterwards all the rest of the officers, especially those whose age gave them a greater authority, and a fairer excuse for the freedom they took, made the same humble request; but still the king would not comply with it. It must cost a monarch many pangs, before he can prevail with himself to comply with things repugnant to his inclination. Alexander therefore shut himself up two days in his tent, without once speaking to any one, not even to his most familiar friends, in order to see whether some change might not be wrought in the army, as frequently happens on such occasions. But finding it would be impossible to change the resolution of the soldiers, he commanded them to prepare for their return. This news filled the whole army with inexpressible joy; and Alexander never appeared greater, or more glorious, than on this day, in which he condescended, for the sake of his subjects, to sacrifice some part of his glory and grandeur. The whole camp

echoed with praises and blessings of Alexander, for having suffered himself to be overcome by his own army, who was invincible by the rest of the world. No triumph is comparable to those acclamations and applauses that come from the heart, and which are the lively and sincere overflowings of it; and it is great pity that princes are not more affected with them.

A. M. 3678. Ant. J. C. 326. Alexander had not spent above three or four months, at most, in conquering all the country between the Indus and the Hyphasis, called to this day *The Penjab*, that is, *the five waters*, from the five rivers which water it. Before his setting out, he raised twelve altars, to serve as so many trophies and thanksgivings for the victories he had obtained.

These instances of gratitude towards the gods, were attended with marks of vanity carried to an excess almost incredible. The altars which he erected in their honour were seventy-five feet high. He caused a camp to be marked out, three times as large again as his own, and surrounded it with fosses fifty feet in depth by ten broad. He ordered the foot to prepare, and leave each in his tent two beds, seven feet and a half in length; and the cavalry to make mangers for the horses of twice the usual dimensions. Every thing else was in proportion. Alexander's views in these orders, which flowed from an extravagance of vanity, was to leave posterity monuments of his heroic and more than human grandeur, and to have it believed, that himself and his followers were superior to all other mortals.

He afterwards crossed the Hydraotes, and left Porus all the lands he had conquered, as far as the Hyphasis. He also reconciled this monarch with Taxilus, and settled a peace between them by means of an alliance equally advantageous to both. * From thence he went and encamped on the banks of the

* Arr. in Ind. p. 319. Strab. lib. xv. p. 692.

Acesines; but great rains having made this river overflow its banks, and the adjacent countries being under water, he was obliged to remove his camp to a higher ground. Here a fit of sickness carried off Cœnus, whose loss was bewailed by the king and the whole army. There was not a greater officer among the Macedonians, and he had distinguished himself in a very peculiar manner in every battle in which he engaged. He was one of those singularly good men, zealous for the public welfare, all whose actions are free from self-interested or ambitious views, and who bear so great a love to their king, as to dare to tell him the truth, be the consequence what it will. But now Alexander was preparing for his departure.

His fleet consisted of eight hundred vessels, as well galleys as boats, to carry the troops and provisions. Every thing being ready, the whole army embarked, about the setting of the Pleiades or seven stars, according to Aristobulus, that is, about the end of October. The fifth day the fleet arrived where the Hydaspes and Acesines mix their streams. Here the ships were very much shattered, because these rivers unite with such prodigious rapidity, that as great storms arise in this part as in the open sea. At last he came into the country of the Oxydracæ and the Malli, the most valiant people in those parts. These were perpetually at war one with another; but having united for their mutual safety, they had drawn together ten thousand horse, and fourscore thousand foot, all vigorous young men, with nine hundred chariots. However, Alexander defeated them in several engagements, dispossessed them of some strong holds, and at last marched against the city of the Oxydracæ, whither the greatest part were retired. Immediately he causes the scaling-ladders to be set up; and, as they were not nimble enough for Alexander, he forces one of the scaling-ladders from a soldier; runs up the first (covered with his shield) and gets to

the top of the wall, followed only by Peucestes and Limneus. The soldiers, anxious for his safety, mounted swiftly to succour him; but the ladders breaking, the king was left alone. Alexander, seeing himself the mark against which all the darts were levelled, both from the towers and from the rampart, was so rash, rather than valiant, as to leap into the city, which was crowded with the enemy, having nothing to expect but to be either taken or killed, before it would be possible for him to rise, and without once having an opportunity to defend himself, or revenge his death. But, happily for him, he poised his body in such a manner, that he fell upon his feet; and finding himself standing, sword in hand, he repulsed such as were nearest him, and even killed the general of the enemy, who advanced to run him through. Happily for him a second time, not far from thence there stood a great tree, against the trunk of which he leaned, his shield receiving all the darts that were shot at him from a distance; for no one dared to approach him, so great was the dread which the boldness of the enterprise, and the fire that shot from his eyes had struck into the enemy. At last an Indian let fly an arrow three feet long (that being the length of their arrows), which piercing his coat of mail, entered a considerable way into his body, a little above the right side. So great a quantity of blood issued from the wound, that he dropped his arms and lay as dead. Behold then this [p] mighty conqueror, this vanquisher of nations, upon the point of losing his life, not at the head of his armies, not at the siege of any place of importance, but in a corner of an obscure city, into which his rashness had thrown him. The Indian who had wounded Alexander, ran, in the greatest transports of joy, to strip him; however, Alexander no sooner felt the hand of his enemy upon him, but, fired with the thirst of revenge, he recalled his spi-

[p] Plut. de fortun. Alex. p. 344.

rits; and grappling with the Indian, as he had no arms, he plunged his dagger into his side. Some of his chief officers, as Peucestes, Leonatus, and Timæus, who had got to the top of the wall with some soldiers, came up that instant, and attempting impossibilities for the sake of saving their sovereign's life, they form themselves as a bulwark round his body, and sustain the whole effort of the enemy. It was then that a mighty battle was fought round him. In the mean time the soldiers, who had climbed up with the officers above mentioned, having broken the bolts of a little gate, standing between two towers, they by that means let in the Macedonians. Soon after the town was taken, and all the inhabitants were put to the sword, without distinction of age or sex.

Their first care was to carry Alexander into his tent. Being got into it, the * surgeons cut off, so very dexterously, the wood of the shaft which had been shot into his body, that they did not move the steel point; and after undressing him, they found it was a bearded arrow; † and that it could not be pulled out, without danger, unless the wound were widened. The king bore the operation with incredible resolution, so that there was no occasion for people to hold him. The incision being made, and the arrow drawn out, so great an effusion of blood ensued, that the king fainted away. Every one thought him dead; but the blood being stopped, he recovered by degrees, and knew the persons about him. All that day, and the whole night after, the army continued under arms round his tent; and would not stir from their posts, till certain news was brought of his being better, and that he began to take a little rest.

At the end of the seven days he had employed for his recovery, before his wound was closed, as

* In those ages they and physicians were the same thing.

† So arrows are called that have beards at their points like fish-hooks. *Animadvertunt hamos inesse telo.*

he knew that the report of his death gained ground among the barbarians, he caused two vessels to be joined together, and had his tent pitched in the middle, in sight of every one; purposely to show himself to those who imagined him dead, and to ruin, by this means, all their projects, and the hopes with which they flattered themselves. He afterwards went down the river, going before at some distance from the rest of the fleet, for fear lest the noise of the oars should keep him from sleep, which he very much wanted. When he was a little better, and able to go out, the soldiers who were upon guard brought him his litter, but he refused it, and calling for his horse, mounted him. At this sight, all the shore, and the neighbouring forests, echoed with the acclamations of the army, who imagined they saw him rise, in a manner, from the grave. Being come near his tent, he alighted, and walked a little way, surrounded with a great number of soldiers, some of whom kissed his hands, whilst others clasped his knees; others again were contented with only touching his clothes, and with seeing him; but all in general burst into tears, and calling for a thousand blessings from heaven, wished him long life, and an uninterrupted series of prosperity.

At this instant deputies came from the Malli, with the chiefs of the Oxydracæ, to the number of a hundred and fifty, besides the governors of the cities and of the province, who brought him presents, and paid him homage, pleading in excuse, for not having done it before, their strong love of liberty. They declared that they were ready to receive for their governor whomsoever he pleased to nominate; that they would pay him tribute, and give him hostages. He demanded a thousand of the chief persons of their nation, whom he also might make use of in war, till he had subjected all the country. They put into his hands such of their countrymen as were handsomest and best shaped, with five hundred chariots, though not demanded

by him; at which the king was so much pleased, that he gave them back their hostages, and appointed Philip their governor.

Alexander, who was overjoyed at this embassy, and found his strength increase daily, tasted with so much the greater pleasure the fruits both of his victory and health, as he had like to have lost them for ever. His chief courtiers, and most intimate friends, thought it a proper juncture, during this calm and serenity of his mind, for them to unbosom themselves, and expose their fears to him: it was Craterus spoke on this occasion. "We begin, royal "Sir, to breathe and live, now we find you in the "condition to which the goodness of the gods has "restored you. But how great were our fears and "our griefs! How severely did we reproach our-"selves, for having abandoned, in such an extre-"mity, our king, our father! It was not in our "power to follow him; but this did not extenuate "our guilt, and we look upon ourselves as crimi-"nals, in not having attempted impossibilities for "your sake. But, Sir, never plunge us in such "deep affliction hereafter. Does a wretched paltry "town deserve to be bought at so dear a price as "the loss of your life? Leave those petty exploits "and enterprises to us, and preserve your person "for such occasions only as are worthy of you. "We still shudder with horror, when we reflect on "what we so lately were spectators of. We have "seen the moment, when the most abject hands "upon earth were going to seize the greatest prince "in the universe, and despoil him of his royal "robes. Permit us, Sir, to say, you are not your "own master, but that you owe yourself to us: we "have a right over your life, since ours depends on "it; and we dare take the freedom to conjure you, "as being your subjects and your children, to be "more careful of so precious a life, if not for your "own sake, at least for ours, and for the felicity "of the universe."

The king was strongly touched with these testimonies of their affection, and having embraced them severally with inexpressible tenderness, he answered as follows: "I cannot enough thank all present, "who are the flower of my citizens and friends, "not only for your having this day preferred my "safety to your own, but also for the strong proofs "you have given me of your zeal and affection, "from the beginning of this war; and if any thing "is capable of making me wish for a longer life "it is the pleasure of enjoying, for years to come, "such valuable friends as you. But give me leave "to observe, that in some points we differ very "much in opinion. You wish to enjoy me long; "and even, if it were possible, for ever; but as to "myself, I compute the length of my existence, "not by years, but by glory. I might have con-"fined my ambition within the narrow limits of "Macedonia; and contented with the kingdom "my ancestors left me, have waited, in the midst "of pleasures and indolence, an inglorious old age. "I own, that if my victories, not my years, are "computed, I shall seem to have lived long; but "can you imagine, that, after having made Europe "and Asia but one empire, after having conquered "the two noblest parts of the world, in the tenth "year of my reign, and the thirtieth of my age, "it will become me to stop in the midst of so "brilliant a career, and discontinue the pursuit of "glory, to which I have entirely devoted myself? "Know that this glory ennobles all things, and "gives a true and solid grandeur to whatever ap-"pears insignificant. In what place soever I may "fight, I shall fancy myself upon the stage of the "world, and in presence of all mankind. I con-"fess that I have achieved mighty things hitherto; "but the country we are now in, reproaches me "that a woman has done still greater. It is Semi-"ramis I mean. How many nations did she con-"quer! How many cities were built by her! What

" magnificent and stupendous works did she finish!
" How shameful is it, that I should not yet have
" attained to her pitch of glory! Do but second
" my ardour, and I shall soon surpass her. De-
" fend me only from secret cabals, and domestic
" treasons, by which most princes lose their lives,
" I take the rest upon myself, and will be answer-
" able to you for all the events of the war."

This speech gives us a perfect idea of Alexander's character. He had no notion of true glory. He did not know either the principle, the rule, or end of it. He placed it where it certainly was not. The common error was that which he adopted and cherished. He fancied himself born merely for glory; and that none could be acquired but by unbounded, unjust, and irregular conquests. In his impetuous sallies after a mistaken glory, he followed neither reason, virtue, nor humanity; and, as if his ambitious caprice ought to have been a rule and standard to all other men, he was surprised that neither his officers nor soldiers would enter into his views, and lent themselves very unwillingly to support his ridiculous enterprises.

Alexander, after having ended his speech, dismissed the assembly, and continued encamped for several days in this place. He afterwards went upon the river, and his army marched after him along the banks. He then came among the Sabracæ, a powerful nation of Indians. These had levied sixty thousand foot and six thousand horse, and reinforced them with five hundred chariots; however, the arrival of Alexander spread terror through the whole country, and accordingly they sent ambassadors to make their submission. After having built another city, which he also called Alexandria, he arrived in the territories of Musicanus, a very rich prince, and afterwards in those of king Samus. At the siege of one of this king's towns, Ptolemy was dangerously wounded; for the Indians had poisoned all their arrows and swords, so that the

wounds they made were mortal. Alexander, who had the highest love and esteem for Ptolemy, was very much afflicted, and caused him to be brought in his bed near him, that he himself might have an eye to his cure. He was his near relation, and, according to some writers, a natural son of Philip. Ptolemy was one of the bravest men in the army, was highly esteemed in war, and had still greater talents for peace. He was averse to luxury, vastly generous, and easy of access, and did not imitate the pomp, which wealth and prosperity had made the rest of the Macedonian noblemen assume: in a word, it is hard to say, whether he were more esteemed by his sovereign or his country. We are told there appeared to Alexander, in a dream, a dragon, which presented him an herb, as an effectual remedy for his friend's wound; and that upon his waking, he ordered it to be sent for, when laying it upon the wound, it was healed in a few days, to the universal joy of the army.

[q] The king continuing his voyage, arrived at Patala about the rising of the dog-star, that is, about the end of July, so that the fleet was nine months at least from its setting out, till its arrival at that place. There the river Indus divides into two large arms, and forms an island, but much larger, like the Delta of the Nile; and hence the city above-mentioned received its name, *Patala*, according to [r] Arrian, signifying, in the Indian tongue, the same as *Delta* in the Greek. Alexander caused a citadel to be built in Patala, as also a harbour, and an arsenal for the shipping. This being done, he embarked on the right arm of the river, in order to sail as far as the ocean, exposing in this manner so many brave men to the mercy of a river with which they were wholly unacquainted. The only consolation they had in this rash enterprise, was Alexander's uninterrupted success. When he had

[q] Strab. l. xv. p. 692. [r] Arrian. in Indic. p. 314.

sailed *twenty leagues, the pilots told him that they began to perceive the sea-air, and therefore believed that the ocean could not be far off. Upon this news, leaping for joy, he besought the sailors to row with all their strength, and told the soldiers, "That they "at last were come to the end of their toils, which "they had so earnestly desired; that now nothing "could oppose their valour, nor add to their glory; "that without fighting any more, or spilling of "blood, they were masters of the universe; that "their exploits had the same boundaries with na- "ture; and that they would soon be spectators of "things, known only to the immortal gods."

Being come nearer the sea, a circumstance new and unheard of by the Macedonians threw them into the utmost confusion, and exposed the fleet to the greatest danger; and this was the ebbing and flowing of the ocean. Forming a judgment of this vast sea, from that of the Mediterranean, the only one they knew, and whose tides are imperceptible, they were very much astonished when they saw it rise to a great height, and overflow the country; and considered it as a mark of the anger of the gods, who were disposed to punish their rashness. They were no less surprised and terrified some hours after, when they saw the ebbing of the sea, which now withdrew as it had before advanced, leaving those lands uncovered it had so lately overflowed. The fleet was very much shattered, and the ships being now upon dry land, the fields were covered with clothes, with broken oars and planks, as after a great storm.

At last Alexander, after having spent full nine months in coming down the rivers, arrived at the ocean; where gazing with the utmost eagerness upon that vast expanse of waters, he imagined that this sight, worthy of so great a conqueror as himself, greatly overpaid all the toils he had undergone, and

* Four hundred furlongs.

the many thousand men he had lost, to arrive at it. He then offered sacrifices to the gods, and particularly to Neptune; threw into the sea the bulls he had slaughtered, and a great number of golden cups; and besought the gods not to suffer any mortal after him to exceed the bounds of his expedition. Finding that he had extended his conquests to the extremities of the earth on that side, he imagined he had completed his mighty design; and, highly delighted with himself, he returned to rejoin the rest of his fleet and army, which waited for him at Patala, and in the neighbourhood of that place.

SECT. XVII. *Alexander, in his march through deserts, is grievously distressed by famine. He arrives at Pasargada, where Cyrus's monument stood. Orsines, a powerful satrap, is put to death through the clandestine intrigues of Bagoas the eunuch. Calanus the Indian ascends a funeral pile, where he voluntarily meets his death. Alexander marries Statira, the daughter of Darius. Harpalus arrives at Athens; Demosthenes is banished. The Macedonian soldiers make an insurrection, which Alexander appeases. He recals Antipater from Macedonia, and sends Craterus in his room. The king's sorrow for the death of Hephæstion.*

ALEXANDER being returned to Patala, prepared all things for the departure of his fleet. He appointed Nearchus admiral of it, who was the only officer that had the courage to accept of this commission, which was a very hazardous one, because they were to sail over a sea entirely unknown to them. The king was very much pleased at his accepting of it; and, after testifying his acknowledg-

[a] Arrian. in Indic. p. 334.

ment upon that account in the most obliging terms, he commanded him to take the best ships in the fleet, and to go and observe the sea-coast extending from the Indus to the bottom of the Persian gulph; and, after having given these orders, he set out by land for Babylon.

[t] Nearchus did not leave the Indus at the same time with Alexander. It was not yet the season proper for sailing. It was summer, when the southern sea-winds rise; and the season of the north-winds, which blow in winter, was not yet come. He therefore did not set sail till about the end of September, and even that was too soon; and accordingly he was incommoded by adverse winds some days after his departure, and obliged to shelter himself for twenty-four days.

We are obliged for these particulars to Arrian, who has given us an exact journal of this voyage, copied from that of Nearchus the admiral.

Alexander, after having left Patala, marched through the country of the Oritæ, the capital whereof was called Ora or Rhambacis. Here he was in such want of provision, that he lost a great number of soldiers; and brought back from India scarce the fourth part of his army, which had consisted of a hundred and twenty thousand foot and fifteen thousand horse. Sickness, bad food, and the excessive heats, had swept them away in multitudes; but famine made a still greater havoc among the troops in this barren country, which was neither plowed nor sowed; its inhabitants being savages, who fared very hard, and led a most uncomfortable life. After they had eaten all the palm-tree roots that could be met with, they were obliged to feed upon the beasts of burthen, and next upon their war-horses; and when they had no beasts left to carry their baggage, they were forced to burn those rich spoils, for the sake of which the Macedonians

[t] Arrian. p. 335.

had run to the extremities of the earth. The plague, the usual attendant upon famine, completed the calamity of the soldiers, and destroyed great numbers of them.

After marching threescore days, Alexander arrived on the confines of Gedrosia, where he found plenty of all things: for not only the soil was very fruitful, but the kings and great men, who lay nearest that country, sent him all kind of provisions. He continued some time here, in order to refresh his army. The governors of India having sent, by his order, a great number of horses, and all kinds of beasts of burthen, from the several kingdoms subject to him, he remounted his troops; equipped those who had lost every thing; and soon after presented all of them with arms, as beautiful as those they had before, which it was very easy for him to do, as they were upon the confines of Persia, at that time in peace, and in a very flourishing condition.

A. M. 3679. Ant. J. C. 325. He arrived in Carmania, now called Kerman, and went through it, not with the air and equipage of a warrior and a conqueror, but in a kind of masquerade and Bacchanalian festivity; committing the most riotous and extravagant actions. He was drawn by eight horses, seated on a magnificent chariot, above which a scaffold was raised, in the form of a square stage, where he passed the days and nights in feasts and carousing. This chariot was preceded and followed by an infinite number of others, some of which, in the shape of tents, were covered with rich carpets and purple coverlets; and others, shaped like cradles, were overshadowed with branches of trees. On the sides of the roads, and at the doors of houses, a great number of casks ready broached were placed, whence the soldiers drew wine in large flaggons, cups, and goblets, prepared for that purpose. The whole country echoed with the sound of instruments, and the howling of the Bacchanals, who, with their hair dishevelled, and like so many frantic

creatures, ran up and down, abandoning themselves to every kind of licentiousness. All this he did in imitation of the triumph of Bacchus, who, as we are told, crossed all Asia in this equipage, after he had conquered India. This riotous, dissolute march lasted seven days, during all which time the army was never sober. It was very happy, says, Quintus Curtius, for them, that the conquered nations did not think of attacking them in this condition; for a thousand resolute men, well armed, might with great ease have defeated the conquerors of the world, whilst thus plunged in wine and excess.

"Nearchus, still keeping along the sea-coast, from the mouth of the Indus, came at last into the Persian gulph, and arrived at the island of Harmusia, now called Ormus. He there was informed, that Alexander was not above five days' journey from him. Having left the fleet in a secure place, he went to meet Alexander, accompanied only by four persons. The king was very anxious about his fleet. When news was brought him that Nearchus was arrived almost alone, he imagined that it had been entirely destroyed, and that Nearchus had been so very happy as to escape from the general misfortune. His arrival confirmed him still more in his opinion, when he beheld a company of pale, lean creatures, whose countenances were so much changed, that it was scarce possible to know them again. Taking Nearchus aside, he told him, that he was overjoyed at his return, but at the same time was inconsolable for the loss of his fleet. "Your fleet, royal Sir," cried he immediately, "thanks to the gods, is not lost:" upon which he related the condition in which he had left it. Alexander could not refrain from tears, and confessed that this happy news gave him greater pleasure than the conquest of all Asia. He heard, with uncommon delight, the account Nearchus gave of his voyage, and the discoveries he had made; and bid him return back, and go quite

[u] Arrian. in Indic. p. 348—352.

up the Euphrates as far as Babylon, pursuant to the first orders he had given him.

In Carmania, many complaints were made to Alexander, concerning governors and other officers, who had grievously oppressed the people of various provinces during his absence: for, fully persuaded he would never return, they had exercised every species of rapine, tyranny, cruelty, and oppression. Alexander, strongly affected with their grievances, and pierced to the very soul with their just complaints, put to death as many as were found guilty of mal-administration, and with them six hundred soldiers, who had been the instruments of their exactions and other crimes. He ever afterwards treated with the same severity all such of his officers as were convicted of the like guilt, so that his government was beloved by all the conquered nations. He was of opinion, that a prince owes these examples of severity to his dignity, which ought to check every kind of irregularity; to his glory, to prove he does not connive, or share in the injustice committed in his name; to the consolation of his subjects, whom he supplies with a vengeance which themselves ought never to exercise; in fine, to the safety of his dominions, which, by so equitable an administration, is secured from many dangers, and very often from insurrections. It is a great unhappiness to a kingdom, when every part of it resounds with exactions, vexations, oppressions, and corruption, and not so much as a single man is punished, as a terror to the rest; and that the whole weight of the public authority falls only upon the people, and never on those who ruin them.

The great pleasure Alexander took, in the account which Nearchus gave him of his successful voyage, inspired that prince with a great inclination for navigation and voyages by sea. He proposed no less than to sail from the Persian gulph, round Arabia and Africa, and to return into the Mediterranean by the Straits of Gibraltar, called at that time Hercules's

Pillars; a voyage which had been several times attempted, and once performed, by order of a king of Egypt, called Necho, as I have observed elsewhere. It was afterwards his design, when he should have humbled the pride of Carthage, against which he was greatly exasperated, to cross into Spain, called by the Greeks Iberia, from the river Iberus: he next was to go over the Alps, and coast along Italy, where he would have had but a short passage into Epirus, and from thence into Macedonia. For this purpose he sent orders to the viceroys of Mesopotamia and Syria, to build in several parts of the Euphrates, and particularly at Thapsacus, ships sufficient for that enterprise; and he caused to be felled, on mount Libanus, a great number of trees, which were to be carried into the above-mentioned city. But this project, as well as a great many more which he meditated, were all defeated by his early death.

Continuing his march, he went to Pasargada, a city of Persia. Orsines was governor of the country, and the greatest nobleman in it. He was a descendant of Cyrus; and, besides the wealth he inherited from his ancestors, he himself had amassed great treasures, having, for many years, ruled a considerable extent of country. He had done the king a signal piece of service. The person who governed the province during Alexander's expedition into India, happened to die; when Orsines observing, that, for want of a governor, all things were running to confusion, took the administration upon himself, composed matters very happily, and preserved them in the utmost tranquillity till Alexander's arrival. He went to meet him, with presents of all kinds for himself, as well as his officers. These consisted of a great number of fine and well trained horses, chariots enriched with gold and silver, precious furniture, jewels, gold vases of prodigious weight, purple robes, and four thousand talents of silver in specie.* However this generous

* About six hundred thousand pounds.

magnificence proved fatal to him; for when he presented such gifts to the principal grandees of the court, as infinitely exceeded their expectations, he passed by the eunuch Bagoas, the king's favourite; and this not through forgetfulness, but out of contempt. Some persons telling him how much the king loved Bagoas, he answered, "I honour the "king's friends, but not an infamous eunuch." These words being told Bagoas, he employed all his credit to ruin a prince descended from the noblest blood in the East, and irreproachable in his conduct. He even bribed some of Orsines' attendants, giving them instructions how to impeach him at a proper season; and in the mean time, whenever he was alone with the king, he filled his mind with suspicions and distrust, letting drop ambiguous expressions concerning that nobleman, as if by chance; and dissembling very artfully the motives of his discontent. Nevertheless, the king suspended his judgment for the present, but discovered less esteem than before for Orsines, who knew nothing of what was plotting against him, so secretly the affair was carried on; and the eunuch, in his private discourses with Alexander, was perpetually charging him either with exactions or treason.

The great danger to which princes are exposed, is the suffering themselves to be prejudiced and overreached in this manner by their favourites; a danger so common, that St. Bernard, writing to Pope Eugenius[x], assures him, that if he were exempt from this weakness, he may boast himself to be the only man in the world that is so. What is here spoken of princes, is applicable to all who are in power. Great men generally listen with pleasure to the slanderer; and for this reason, because he generally puts on the mask of affection and zeal, which soothes their pride. Slander always makes some impression on the most equitable minds; and leaves behind it

[x] De Consider. lib. ii. c. 14.

such dark and gloomy traces, as raise suspicions, jealousies, and distrusts. The artful slanderer is bold and indefatigable, because he is sure to escape unpunished; and is sensible, that he runs but very little danger, in greatly prejudicing others. With regard to the great, they seldom make enquiry into the grounds of these secret calumnies, either from indolence, inattention, or shame to appear suspicious, fearful, or diffident; in a word, from their unwillingness to own that they were imposed upon, and had abandoned themselves to a rash credulity. In this manner, the most unsullied virtue, and the most irreproachable fidelity, are frequently brought to inevitable ruin.

Of this we have a sad example on the present occasion. Bagoas, after having taken his measures at distance, at last gave birth to his dark design. Alexander having caused the monument of Cyrus to be opened, in order to perform funeral honours to the ashes of that great prince, found nothing in it, but an old rotten shield, two Scythian bows, and a scimitar; whereas he hoped to find it full of gold and silver, as the Persians had reported. The king laid a golden crown on his urn, and covered it with his cloak; vastly surprised that so powerful and renowned a prince had been buried with no greater pomp than a private man. Bagoas thinking this a proper time for him to speak, "Are we to wonder (says he) "that we find the tombs of kings so empty, "since the houses of governors of provinces are "filled with the gold of which they have deprived "them? I, indeed, had never seen this monument; "but I have heard Darius say, that immense trea-"sures were buried in it. Hence flowed the un-"bounded liberality and profusion of Orsines, who, "by bestowing what he could not keep, without "ruining himself, thought to make a merit of this "in your sight." This charge was without the least foundation; and yet the Magi, who guarded the sepulchre, were put to the torture, but all to

no purpose; and nothing was discovered relating to the pretended theft. Their silence on this occasion, ought naturally to have cleared Orsines; but the artful, insinuating discourses of Bagoas, had made a deep impression on Alexander's mind, and by that means given calumny an easy access to it. The accusers, whom Bagoas had suborned, having made choice of a favourable moment, came and impeached Orsines, and charged him with the commission of several odious crimes, and amongst the rest, with stealing the treasure of the monument. At this charge, the matter appeared no longer doubtful, and no further proof was thought requisite; so that this prince was loaded with chains, before he so much as suspected that any accusation had been brought against him; and was put to death, without being so much as heard, or confronted with his accusers: too unhappy fate of kings, who do not hear and examine things in person; and who still continue infatuated, notwithstanding the numberless examples they read in history, of princes who have been deceived in like manner.

I have already said, that there had followed the king an Indian, called Calanus, reputed the wisest man of his country, who, though he professed the practice of the most severe philosophy, had however been persuaded, in his extreme old age, to attend upon the court. [y] This man, having lived fourscore and three years, without having been ever afflicted with sickness; and having a very severe fit of the cholic, upon his arrival at Pasargada, resolved to put himself to death. Resolutely determined not to let the perfect health he had always enjoyed, be impaired by lingering pains; and being also afraid of falling into the hands of physicians, and of being tortured with loads of medicine, he besought the king to order the erecting of a funeral pile for him; and desired that after he had ascended

[y] Arrian. lib. vii. p. 276. Diod. lib. xvii. p. 573, 574. Plut. in Alex. p. 703.

it, fire might be set to it. Alexander at first imagined Calanus might easily be dissuaded from so dreadful a design; but finding, in spite of all the arguments he could use, that Calanus was still inflexible, he at last was obliged to acquiesce in his request. Calanus then rode on horseback to the foot of the funeral pile; offered up his prayers to the gods; caused the same libations to be poured upon himself, and the rest of the ceremonies to be observed, which are practised at funerals; cut off a tuft of his hair, as was done to the victims at a sacrifice; embraced such of his friends as were present; entreated them to be merry that day, to feast and carouse with Alexander; assuring them at the same time, that he would soon see that prince in Babylon. After saying these words he ascended, with the utmost cheerfulness, the funeral pile, laid himself down upon it, and covered his face; and when the flame catched him, he did not make the least motion; but with a patience and constancy that surprised the whole army, continued in the posture in which he at first had laid himself; and completed his sacrifice, by dying pursuant to the custom practised by the sages of his country.

[z] The historian informs us, that people differed very much in opinion with respect to this action. Some condemned it, as suiting only a frantic, senseless wretch; others imagined he was prompted to it out of vain-glory, merely for the sake of being gazed at, and to pass for a miracle in constancy (and these were not mistaken); others again applauded this false heroism, which had enabled him to triumph in this manner over pain and death.

Alexander, being returned into his tent, after this dreadful ceremony, invited several of his friends and general officers to supper; and in compliance with Calanus's request, and to do him honour, he proposed a crown, as a reward for him who should

[z] Diodorus.

quaff most. He who conquered on this occasion, was Promachus, who swallowed four measures of wine, that is, eighteen or twenty pints. After receiving the prize, which was a crown worth a * talent, he survived his victory but three days. Of these guests, forty-one died of their intemperance: a scene worthy of closing that which Calanus had a little before exhibited!

[a]From Pasargada, Alexander came to Persepolis; and, surveying the remains of the conflagration, was exasperated against himself for his folly in setting it on fire. From hence he advanced towards Susa. Nearchus in compliance with his orders, had begun to sail up the Euphrates with his fleet; but being informed that Alexander was going to Susa, he came down again to the mouth of the Pasitigris, and sailed up this river to a bridge, where Alexander was to pass it. Then the naval and land armies joined. The king offered to the gods sacrifices, by way of thanks for his happy return; and great rejoicings were made in the camp. Nearchus received the honours due to him, for the care he had taken of the fleet; and for having conducted it so far safe through numberless dangers.

Alexander found in Susa all the captives of quality he had left there. He married Statira, Darius's eldest daughter, and gave the youngest to his dear Hephæstion. And in order that by making these marriages more common, his own might not be censured, he persuaded the greatest noblemen in his court, and his principal favourites, to imitate him. Accordingly they chose from among the noblest families of Persia about fourscore young maidens, whom they married. His design was, by these alliances, to cement so strongly the union of the two nations, that they should thenceforward form but one, under his empire. The nuptials were solem-

[a] Arrian. de Indic. p. 357, 358.

* A thousand crowns.

nized after the Persian manner. He likewise gave a feast to all the rest of the Macedonians who had married before in that country. It is related that there were nine thousand guests at this feast, and that he gave each of them a golden cup for the libations.

Not satisfied with this bounty, he would also pay his soldiers' debts. But finding that several would not declare the sum they owed, for fear of its being an artifice merely to discover those among them who were too lavish of their money, he appointed in his camp, offices, where all debts were paid, without asking the name either of the debtor or creditor. His liberality was very great on this occasion, and gave prodigious satisfaction; we are told that it amounted to near ten thousand talents;* but his indulgence, in permitting every person to conceal his name, was a still more agreeable circumstance. He reproached the soldiers for their seeming to suspect the truth of his promise, and said to them: † "That a king ought never to forfeit his word with his subjects; nor his subjects "suspect that he could be guilty of so shameful a "prevarication:" a truly royal maxim, as it forms the security of a people, and the most solid glory of a prince; which, at the same time, may be renounced for ever, by the violation of a single promise; which in affairs of government is the most fatal of all errors.

And now there arrived at Susa thirty thousand Persian young men, most of the same age, and called *Epigoni*, that is, *successors;* as coming to relieve the old soldiers in their duty and long fatigues. Such only had been made choice of, as were the strongest and best shaped in all Persia; and had been sent to the governors of such cities as were either lately founded or conquered by Alex-

* About fifteen hundred thousand pounds.

† Οὐ γὰρ χρῆναι ἔτ' ἂν τὸν βασιλέα ἄλλό τι ἢ ἀληθίυειν πρὸς τὲς ὑπηκόες, ἢτε τῶν ἀρχομένων τινὰ ἄλλό τι ἢ ἀληθέυειν δόκεῖν τὸν βασιλέα. ARRIAN.

ander. These had instructed them in military discipline, and in all things relating to the science of war. They were all very neatly dressed, and armed after the Macedonian manner. They came and encamped before the city, where, drawing up in battle array, they were reviewed; and performed their exercises before the king, who was extremely well pleased, and very bountiful to them afterwards, at which the Macedonians took great umbrage. And, indeed, Alexander observing that the latter were harassed and tired out with the length of the war, and often vented murmurs and complaints in the assemblies, was, for that reason, desirous of training up these new forces, purposely to check the licentiousness of the veterans. It is dangerous to disgust a whole nation, and to show too marked a preference to foreigners.

[b] In the mean time Harpalus, whom Alexander, during his expedition into India, had appointed governor of Babylon, quitted his service. Flattering himself with the hopes that this prince would never return from the wars in that country, he had given a loose to all kinds of licentiousness, and consumed in his infamous revels part of the wealth with which he had been intrusted. As soon as he was informed that Alexander, in his return from India, punished very severely such of his lieutenants as had abused their power, he meditated how he might best secure himself; and for this purpose amassed five thousand talents, that is, about seven hundred and fifty thousand pounds; assembled six thousand soldiers, withdrew into Attica, and landed at Athens. [c] Immediately all such orators as made a trade of their eloquence, ran to him in crowds, all ready to be corrupted by bribes, as they were before by hopes of them. Harpalus did not fail to distribute a small part of his wealth among these orators, to win them over to his interest, but he offered Pho-

[b] Plut. in Demosth. p. 857, 858. [c] Plut. in Phoc. p. 751.

cion seven hundred*talents, and even put his person and property under his protection, well knowing the prodigious influence he had over the people.

The fame of his probity, and particularly of his disinterestedness, had gained him this influence. Philip's deputies had offered him great sums of money in that prince's name, entreating him to accept them, if not for himself, at least for his children, who were so poor that it would be impossible for them to support the glory of his name:† "If they re-"semble me," replied Phocion, "the little spot of "ground, on the produce of which I have hitherto "lived, and which has raised me to the glory you "mention, will be sufficient to maintain them; if it "will not, I do not intend to leave them wealth, "merely to foment and heighten their luxury." [d]Alexander having likewise sent him a hundred‡ talents, Phocion asked those who brought them, with what design Alexander had sent so great a sum to him alone of all the Athenians? "It is," replied they, "because Alexander looks upon you "as the only just and virtuous man." "Let him, "then," says Phocion, "suffer me still to enjoy that "character, and be really what I am taken for."

The reader will suppose, that he did not give a more favourable reception to the persons sent by Harpalus. And indeed he spoke to them in very harsh terms, declaring that he should immediately take such measures as would be very disagreeable to the person on whose errand they came, in case he did not leave off bribing the city; so that Harpalus lost all hopes from that quarter.

Demosthenes did not at first show more favour to Harpalus. He advised the Athenians to drive him

[d] Plut. in Phoc. p. 749.

* Seven hundred thousand crowns.

† *Si mei similes erunt, idem hic, inquit, agellus, illos alet, qui me ad hanc dignitatem perduxit: sin dissimiles sunt futuri, nolo meis impensis illorum ali augerique luxuriam.* Cor. Nep. in Phoc. c. 1.

‡ A hundred thousand crowns.

out from their city, and not to involve it in a war upon a very unjust occasion, and at the same time without the least necessity.

Some days after, Harpalus, as an inventory was taking of his goods, having observed that Demosthenes took a particular pleasure in viewing one of the king's cups, and that he admired the fashion and the beauty of the workmanship, desired him to take it in his hand, and tell him *the weight of the gold.* Demosthenes taking the cup, was surprised at its heaviness, and accordingly asked how much it weighed? Harpalus answered with a smile, *Twenty* * *talents, I believe;* and that very evening sent him that sum with the cup: for so great was Harpalus's penetration, that he could discover by the air, and certain glances, the foible of a man struck with the charms of gold. Demosthenes could not resist its power; but, overcome by this present, and being † no longer master of himself, he joined on a sudden Harpalus's party; and the very next morning, having wrapped his neck well in wool and bandages, he went to the assembly. The people then ordered him to rise and make a speech, but he refused, making signs that he had lost his voice; upon which some wags cried aloud, that their orator had been seized in the night, not with a ‡ *squinancy*, but an *argyrancy;* thereby intimating, that Harpalus's money had suppressed his voice.

The people being told next day of the gift which had been sent to Demosthenes, were highly exasperated, and refused to hear his justification. Har-

* Twenty thousand crowns.

† The expression in the Greek is full of beauty and spirit. Plutarch compares the gold which had been accepted by Demosthenes, to a garrison (of the enemy) which a governor had received into his city, and thereby dispossessed himself of the command of it. Πληγεὶς ὑπὸ τῆς δωροδοκίας, ὥσπερ παραδεδεγμένος φρουράν.

‡ It is impossible to translate the agreeable play of those Greek words. Οὐχ ὑπὸ συνάγχης, ἔφραξον, ἀλλ' ἀπ' ἀργυράγχης ἐλήφθαι νύκτωρ τὸν δημαγωγόν.

palus was thereupon expelled the city; and in order to discover the persons who had taken bribes, the magistrates commanded a strict search to be made in all houses, that of Caricles excepted, who, having married but a little before, was exempt from this enquiry, out of respect to his bride. The politeness shown on this occasion does honour to Athens, and is not always exercised elsewhere.

Demosthenes, to prove his innocence, proposed a decree, by which the senate of the Areopagus was empowered to take cognizance of this matter. He was the first they tried, and fined, upon being convicted, * fifty talents, for the payment of which he was thrown into prison; however, he found means to escape, and left his country. Demosthenes did not behave with resolution and magnanimity in his banishment, residing generally at Ægina or Trœzene; and every time he cast his eyes on Attica, his face would be covered with tears; and he suffered such words to drop from him as were unworthy a brave man; words which by no means correspond with his resolute and generous behaviour during his administration. Cicero was reproached with the same weakness in his exile, which shows that great men are not such at all times, nor in all circumstances.

[e] It were to be wished, for the honour of eloquence, that what Pausanias relates in justification of Demosthenes, were true; and it is very probable it was so. According to this author, Harpalus, after flying from Athens, was seized by Philoxenus the Macedonian; and being racked to extort from him the names of such Athenians as had been bribed by him, he did not once mention Demosthenes, whose name, had he been guilty, he would not have suppressed before Philoxenus, as that orator was his enemy.

Upon the first report of Harpalus's flying to

[e] Pausan. l. ii. p. 148.

* Fifty thousand crowns.

Athens, Alexander, fully determined to go in person to punish Harpalus and the Athenians, had commanded a fleet to be equipped. But after news was brought that the people in their assembly had ordered him to depart their city, he laid aside all thoughts of returning into Europe.

Alexander, having still a curiosity to see the ocean, came down from Susa, upon the river Eulæus; and after having coasted the Persian gulph to the mouth of the Tigris, he went up that river towards the army which was encamped on the banks of it, near the city of Opis, under the command of Hephæstion.

Upon his arrival there, he published a declaration in the camp, by which all the Macedonians, who, by reason of their age, wounds, or any other infirmity, were unable to support any longer the fatigues of the service, were permitted to return into Greece; declaring that his design was to discharge them, to be bountiful to them, and send them back to their native country in a safe and honourable manner. His intention, in making this declaration, was to oblige, and at the same time give them the strongest proof of his affection for them. However, the very contrary happened; for being already disgusted upon some other accounts, especially by the visible preference which Alexander gave to foreigners, they imagined, that his resolution was to make Asia the seat of his empire, and to disengage himself from the Macedonians; and that the only motive of his discharging them, was, that they might make room for the new troops he had levied in the conquered countries. This alone was sufficient to exasperate them to fury. Without observing the least order or discipline, or regarding the remonstrances of their officers, they went to the king with an air of insolence which they had never assumed till then, and with seditious cries demanded to be all discharged; saying further, that since he despised the soldiers who had

gained him all his victories, he and his father Ammon might carry on the war against whomsover and in what manner they pleased; but as for themselves, they were fully determined not to serve him any longer.

The king, no way surprised, and without once hesitating, leaps from his tribunal; causes the principal mutineers, whom he himself pointed out to his guards, to be immediately seized, and orders thirteen to be punished. This bold and vigorous action, which thunderstruck the Macedonians, suppressed their insolence in an instant; quite amazed and confounded, and scarce daring to look at one another, they stood with downcast eyes, and were so dispirited, and trembled so prodigiously, that they were unable either to speak or even to think. Seeing them in this condition, he re-ascended his tribunal, where, after repeating to them, with a severe countenance, and a menacing tone of voice, the numerous favours which Philip his father had bestowed upon them, and all the marks of kindness and friendship by which he himself had distinguished them, he concluded with these words: "You all "desire a discharge; I grant it you. Go now, and "publish to the whole world, that you have left "your prince to the mercy of the nations he had "conquered, who were more affectionate to him "than you." After speaking this, he returns suddenly into his tent, cashiers his old guard; appoints another in its place, all composed of Persian soldiers; and shuts himself up for some days, without seeing any person all the time.

Had the Macedonians been sentenced to die, they could not have been more shocked than when news was brought them, that the king had confided the care of his person to the Persians. They could suppress their grief no longer, so that nothing was heard but cries, groans, and lamentations. Soon after, they all run together to the king's tent, throw down their arms, confessing their guilt; acknow-

ledging their fault with tears and sighs; declare that the loss of life will not be so grievous as the loss of honour; and protest that they will not leave the place till the king has pardoned them. Alexander could no longer resist the tender proofs they gave of their sorrow and repentance; so that when he himself, at his coming out of his tent, saw them in this dejected condition, he could not refrain from tears; and after some gentle reproaches, which were softened by an air of humanity and kindness, he declared so loud as to be heard by them all, that he restored them to his friendship. This was restoring them to life, as was manifest from their shouts.

He afterwards discharged such Macedonians as were no longer able to carry arms, and sent them back to their native country with rich presents. He commanded, that at the exhibiting of the public games, they should be allowed the chief places in the theatre, and there sit with crowns on their heads; and gave orders that the children of those who had lost their lives in his service, should receive, during their minority, the same pay which had been given their fathers. Such support and honours granted to veterans, must necessarily ennoble, in a very conspicuous manner, the military profession. It is not possible for a government to enrich every soldier individually; but it may animate and console him by marks of distinction, which inspire a stronger ardour for war, more constancy in the service, and nobler sentiments and motives.

Alexander appointed Craterus commander of these soldiers, to whom he gave the government of Macedonia, Thessaly, and Thrace, which Antipater had enjoyed; and the latter was commanded to bring the recruits instead of Craterus. The king had long since been quite tired with the complaints of his mother and Antipater, who could not agree. She charged Antipater with aspiring at sovereign power, and the latter complained of her violent and

untractable disposition; and had often declared in his letters, that she did not behave in a manner suitable to her dignity. It was with some reluctance Antipater resigned his government.

From Opis, Alexander arrived at Ecbatana in Media, where, after having dispatched the most urgent affairs of the kingdom, he again solemnized games and festivals: there had come to him from Greece, three thousand dancers, makers of machinery, and other persons skilled in diversions of this kind. It happened very unluckily, during the celebration of these festivals, that Hephæstion died of a disease which he brought upon himself. Alexander abandoning himself to immoderate drinking, his whole court followed his example, and sometimes spent whole days and nights in these excesses. In one of them Hephæstion lost his life. He was the most intimate friend the king had, the confidant of all his secrets, and, to say all in a word, a second self. Craterus alone seemed to dispute this honour with him. An expression, which one day escaped that prince, shows the difference he made between these two courtiers, "Craterus," says he, "loves "the king, but Hephæstion loves Alexander." This expression signifies, if I mistake not, that Hephæstion was attached, in a tender and affectionate manner, to the person of Alexander; but that Craterus loved him as a king, that is, was concerned for his reputation, and sometimes was less obsequious to his will, than zealous for his glory and interest. An excellent character, but very uncommon. A. M. 3680. Ant. J. C. 324.

Hephæstion was as much beloved by all the courtiers as by Alexander himself. Modest, even-tempered, beneficent; free from pride, avarice, and jealousy; he never abused his credit with the king, nor preferred himself to those officers, whose merit made them necessary to his sovereign. He was universally regretted; but his death threw Alexander into excessive sorrow, to which he abandoned himself in such a manner, as was unworthy so great a

king. He seemed to receive no consolation, but in the extraordinary funeral honours to be paid to his friend on his arrival at Babylon, whither he commanded Perdiccas to carry his corpse.

In order to remove, by business and employment, the melancholy ideas which the death of his favourite perpetually awakened in his mind, Alexander marched his army against the Cossæi, a warlike nation, inhabiting the mountains of Media, whom not one of the Persian monarchs had ever been able to conquer. However, the king reduced them in forty days, afterwards passed the Tigris, and marched towards Babylon.

SECT. XVIII. *Alexander enters Babylon, in spite of the sinister predictions of the Magi and other soothsayers. He there forms the plans of several voyages and conquests. He sets about repairing the breaches made in the embankments of the Tigris and Euphrates, and rebuilding the temple of Belus. He abandons himself to immoderate drinking which brings him to his end. The universal grief spread over the whole empire upon that account. Sysigambis is not able to survive him. Preparations are made to convey Alexander's corpse to the temple of Jupiter-Ammon in Libya.*

[f] ALEXANDER being arrived within a league and a half of Babylon, the Chaldeans who pretended to know futurity by the stars, deputed to him some of their old men, to warn him that he would be in danger of his life, in case he entered that city, and were very urgent with him to pass by it. The Babylonish astrologers were held in such great reputation, that this advice made a strange impression on his mind, and filled him with confusion and

[f] Arrian. lib. vii. p. 294—309. Q. Curt. lib. x. c. 4—7. Plut. in Alex. p. 705—707.

dread. Upon this, after sending several of the grandees of his court to Babylon, he himself went another way; and having marched about ten leagues, he stopped for some time in the place where he had encamped his army. The Greek philosophers, being told the foundation of his fear and scruples, waited upon him; when setting in the clearest light the principles of Anaxagoras, whose tenets they followed, they demonstrated to him, in the strongest manner, the vanity of astrology; and made him have so great a contempt for divination in general, and for that of the Chaldeans in particular, that he immediately marched towards Babylon with his whole army. [s] He knew that there were arrived in that city, ambassadors from all parts of the world, who waited for his coming; the whole earth echoing so much with the terror of his name, that the several nations came, with inexpressible ardour, to pay homage to Alexander, as to him who was to be their sovereign. This view, which agreeably soothed the strongest of all his passions, contributed very much to stifle every other reflection, and to make him careless of all advice that might be given him; so that he set forward with all possible diligence towards that great city, there to hold, as it were, the states-general of the world. After making a most magnificent entry, he gave audience to all the ambassadors, with the grandeur and dignity suitable to a great monarch, and, at the same time, with the affability and politeness of a prince, who is desirous of winning the affection of all. He loaded those of Epidaurus with great presents for the deity who presides over their city, as well as over health, but reproached him at the same time. "Æsculapius," says he, "has showed me but very "little indulgence, in not preserving the life of a "friend, who was as dear to me as myself." In private he discovered a great friendship for such

[s] Diod. lib. xvii. p. 577—583. Justin. lib. xii. c. 13—16.

of the deputies of Greece, as came to congratulate him on his victories and his happy return; and he restored to them all the statues, and other curiosities, which Xerxes had carried out of Greece, that were found in Susa, Babylon, Pasargada, and other places. We are told that among these were the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton, and that they were brought back to Athens.

The ambassadors from Corinth having offered him, in the name of their city, the freedom of it, he laughed at an offer which seemed altogether unworthy of one who had attained so exalted a pitch of grandeur and power. However, when Alexander was told that Corinth had granted this privilege to Hercules only, he accepted it with joy; and piqued himself upon treading in his steps, and resembling him in all things. But, cries * Seneca, in what did this frantic young man, with whom successful temerity passed for virtue, resemble Hercules? The latter, free from all self interested views, travelled through the world, merely to benefit the several nations whom he visited, and to purge the earth of such robbers as infested it: whereas Alexander, who is justly entitled the plunderer of nations, made his glory to consist in carrying desolation into all places, and in rendering himself the terror of mankind.

At the same time he wrote a letter, which was to be read publicly in the assembly of the Olympic games, whereby the several cities of Greece were commanded to permit all exiles to return into their native country, those excepted who had committed sacrilege, or any other crime deserving death; and ordered Antipater to employ an armed force

* *Quid illi simile habebat vesanus adoleseens, cui pro virtute erat felix temeritas? Herculcs nihil sibi vicit. Orbem terrarum transivit, non concupiscendo, sed vindicando——malorum hostis, bonorum vindex, terrarum marisque pacator. At hic à pueritiâ latro gentiumque vastator——summum bonum duxit, terrori esse cunctis mortalibus.* SENEC. de Benef. lib. i. cap. 13.

against such cities as should refuse to obey. This letter was read in the assembly. But the Athenians and Ætolians did not think themselves obliged to put these orders in execution, which seemed to interfere with their liberty.

Alexander, after having dispatched these affairs, finding himself now at leisure, began to think of Hephæstion's burial. This he solemnized with a magnificence, the like of which had never been seen. As he himself undertook the management of this funeral, he commanded all the neighbouring cities to contribute their utmost in exalting the pomp of it. He likewise ordered all the nations of Asia to extinguish what the Persians call the *sacred fire*, till the ceremony of the interment should be ended; which was considered as an ill omen, it being never practised in Persia, except at the death of its monarchs. All the officers and courtiers, to please Alexander, caused images to be carved of that favourite, of gold, ivory, and other precious materials.

At the same time the king, having procured a great number of architects and skilful workmen, first caused near six furlongs of the wall of Babylon to be beaten down; and, having got together a great number of bricks, and levelled the spot designed for the funeral pile, he had a most magnificent monumental structure erected over it.

This edifice was divided into thirty parts, in each whereof was raised an uniform building, the roof of which was covered with great planks of palm-tree wood. The whole formed a perfect square, the circumference of which was adorned with extraordinary magnificence. Each side was a furlong, or a hundred fathoms, in length. At the foot of it, and in the first row, were set two hundred and forty-four prows of ships gilded, on the * buttresses

* In *Greek* Ἐπωτίδες or *ears*. These are two pieces of timber which project to the right and left of the prow.

or supporters whereof, the statues of two archers, four cubits high, with one knee on the ground, were fixed; and two other statues, in an upright posture, completely armed, bigger than the life, being five cubits in height. The spaces between the prows were spread and adorned with purple cloth. Over these prows was a colonnade of large flambeaux, the shafts of which were fifteen cubits high, embellished with crowns of gold at the part where they are held. The flame of those flambeaux ending at top, terminated towards eagles, which, with their heads turned downward, and extended wings, served as capitals. Dragons fixed near, or upon the base, turned their heads upwards towards the eagles. Over this colonnade stood a third, in the base of which was represented, in relievo, a party of hunting animals of every kind. On the superior order, that is the fourth, the combat of the Centaurs was represented in gold. Finally, on the fifth, golden figures, representing lions and bulls, were placed alternately. The whole edifice terminated with military trophies, after the Macedonian and barbarian fashion, as so many symbols of the victory of the former and defeat of the latter. On the entablatures and roof were represented Syrens, the hollow bodies of which were filled (but so as not to be discerned) with musicians, who sung mournful airs and dirges in honour of the deceased. This edifice was upwards of one hundred and thirty cubits high, that is, above a hundred and ninety-five feet.

The beauty of the design of this structure, the singularity and magnificence of the decorations, and the several ornaments of it, surpassed the most wonderful productions of fancy, and were all in an exquisite taste. Alexander had appointed to superintend the building of this edifice, Stasicrates, a great architect, and admirably well skilled in mechanics, in all whose inventions and designs there appeared, not only prodigious magnificence, but

a surprising boldness, and such grandeur as was scarce conceivable.

[h] It was this artist, who, in a conversation some time before with Alexander, had told him, that of all the mountains he knew, none would so well admit of being cut into the shape of a man, as mount Athos in Thrace: that, if he therefore pleased to give orders, he would make this mountain the most durable of all statues, and that which would lie most open to the view of the universe. In its left hand it should hold a city, consisting of ten thousand inhabitants; and from its right should pour a great river, whose waters would discharge themselves into the sea. One would have thought that this project would have pleased Alexander, who sought for the great and marvellous in all things; nevertheless, he rejected it, and wisely answered, that it was enough that there already was one prince, whose folly mount Athos would eternize. This was meant of Xerxes, who having endeavoured to cut through the Isthmus of that mountain, wrote a *letter to it in the most proud and senseless terms. "With regard to myself," says Alexander, "mount "Caucasus, the river †Tanais, the Caspian sea, "all which I passed in triumph, shall be my "monument."

The expence of the splendid monument which this prince erected in honour of Hephæstion, with that of the funeral, amounted to upwards of twelve thousand talents, that is, more than one million eight hundred thousand pounds. But what man was ever so ridiculously and extravagantly profuse! All this gold, all this silver, was no other than the blood of nations, and the substance of provinces, which were thus sacrificed to a vain ostentation.

[h] Plut. de fortun. Alex. serm. i. p. 335.

* Proud Athos, who liftest thy head to heaven, be not so bold as to oppose to my workmen such rocks and stones as they cannot cut; otherwise I will cut thee quite to pieces, and throw thee into the sea. Plutarch. de irâ cohib. p. 555.

† The Iaxartes is here meant.

To crown the affection which Alexander had for his deceased friend, something was still wanting to the honours he paid him, which might raise him above human nature; and this was what he proposed, and for that purpose had sent to the temple of Ammon a trusty person, named Philip, to inquire the will of the god. It doubtless was the echo of that of Alexander; and the answer was, that sacrifices might be offered to Hephæstion, as a demi-god. These were not spared in any manner; Alexander himself first setting the example, when he made a great feast, to which upwards of ten thousand persons were invited. At the same time he wrote to Cleomenes, governor of Egypt, commanding him to build a temple to Hephæstion in Alexandria, and another in the isle of Pharos. In this letter (which is still extant) to excite his diligence, and hasten the work, he grants the governor, who was despised universally for his injustice and rapine, a general pardon for all his crimes, past, present, and future; provided that, at his return, the temple and city should be completed. And now nothing was seen but new altars, new temples, and new festivals; no oaths were administered but in the name of the new deity: to question his divinity was a capital crime. An old officer, (a friend of Hephæstion) having bewailed him as dead, in passing before his tomb, had like to have been put to death for it; nor would he have been pardoned, had not Alexander been assured, that the officer wept, merely from some remains of tenderness, and not as doubting Hephæstion's divinity. I cannot say whether Alexander prevailed so far, as to make any one give credit to Hephæstion's divinity; but he himself appeared, or at least endeavoured to appear, firmly persuaded of it; and gloried, not only that he had a god for his father, but that he himself could make gods. How ridiculous is all this!

During almost a year that Alexander continued in Babylon, he revolved a great number of projects

in his mind; such as to go round Africa by sea; to make a complete discovery of all the nations lying round the Caspian sea, and inhabiting its coasts; to conquer Arabia; to make war against Carthage, and to subdue the rest of Europe. The very thoughts of sitting still fatigued him, and the great vivacity of his imagination and ambition would never suffer him to be at rest; nay, could he have conquered the whole world,* he would have sought a new one, to satiate the avidity of his desires.

The embellishing of Babylon also employed his thoughts very much. Finding it surpassed in extent, in conveniency, and in whatever can be wished, either for the necessities or pleasures of life, all the other cities of the East, he resolved to make it the seat of his empire; and for that purpose, was desirous of adding to it all the conveniences and ornaments possible.

This city, as well as the country round about it, had suffered prodigiously by the breaking of the bank or dike of the Euphrates, at the head of the canal called Pallacopa. The river running out of its usual channel by this breach, overflowed the whole country; and forcing its way perpetually, the breach grew at last so wide, that it would have cost almost as much to repair the bank, as the raising of it had done at first. So little water was left in the channel of the Euphrates about Babylon, that there was scarce depth enough for small boats, which consequently was of great prejudice to the city.

Alexander undertook to remedy this, for which purpose he embarked upon the Euphrates, in order to take a view of the place. It was on this occasion that he reproached, in a ludicrous, insulting tone of voice, the Magi and Chaldeans, who accompanied him, for the vanity of their predictions; since notwithstanding the ill omens they had endeavoured to terrify him with (as if he had been a credulous woman) he however had entered Babylon, and was

* *Unus Pellæo juveni non sufficit orbis.* Juv.

returned from it very safe. Attentive to nothing but the subject of his voyage, he went and viewed the breach, and gave the proper orders for repairing and restoring it to its former condition.

This design of Alexander merited the greatest applause. Such works are truly worthy great princes, and give immortal honour to their name, since they are not the effect of a ridiculous vanity, but solely calculated for the public good. By the execution of this project, he would have recovered a whole province which lay under water; and have made the river more navigable, and consequently of greater service to the Babylonians, by turning it all again into its channel as before.

This work, after having been carried on the length of thirty furlongs (a league and a half) was stopped by difficulties owing to the nature of the soil; and the death of this prince, which happened soon after, put an end to this project, and several others he had formed. A supreme cause, unknown to men, prevented its execution. The real obstacle to the success of it, was the curse which GOD had pronounced against this city; an anathema which no human power could divert or retard. [i] "I will cut "off from Babylon the name and remnant," had the Lord of hosts sworn above three hundred years before: "I will also make it a possession for the bit- "tern, and pools of water: and I will sweep it "with the besom of destruction—[k] It shall never "be inhabited, neither shall it be dwelt in from ge- "neration to generation—neither shall the shep- "herds make their fold there." Heaven and earth would sooner have passed away, than Alexander's design have been put in execution. No river was now to flow by Babylon; the places round it were to be overflowed and changed into uninhabitable fens; it was to be rendered inaccessible, by the prodigious quantities of mud and dirt; and the city, as well as the country about it, were to be covered

[i] Isa. ch. xiv. ver. 22, 23. [k] Chap. xiii. ver. 20.

with stagnated waters, which would make all access to it impracticable. * Thus it now lies; and all things were to conspire to reduce it to this dejected state, in order that the prophecy might be completely fulfilled; [l] "For the LORD of hosts hath "purposed, and who shall disannul it? And his "hand is stretched out, and who shall turn it "back?" Nothing shows more evidently the strength and weight of this invincible curse, than the efforts of the most powerful prince that ever reigned; a prince, the most obstinate that ever was, with regard to the carrying on his projects; a prince, of whose enterprises none had ever miscarried; and who failed in this only, though it did not seem so difficult as the rest.

Another design which Alexander meditated, and had most at heart, was the repairing the temple of Belus. Xerxes had demolished it on his return from Greece, and it had lain in ruins ever since. Alexander was resolved, not only to rebuild it, but even to raise a much more magnificent temple. Accordingly, he caused all the rubbish to be removed; and finding that the Magi, to whose care he had left this, went on but slowly, he made his soldiers work. Notwithstanding ten thousand of them were daily employed at it, for two months successively, the work was not finished at the death of this prince, so prodigious were its ruins. [m] When it came to the turn of the Jewish soldiers who were in his army, to work as the rest had done, they could not be prevailed upon to give their assistance; but excused themselves with saying, that as idolatry was forbidden by the tenets of their religion, they therefore were not allowed to assist in building of a temple designed for idolatrous worship; and accordingly not one lent a hand on this occasion. They were punished for disobedience, but all to no

[l] Isa. ch. xiv. ver. 27.

[m] Josephus contra Appion. lib. 1. cap. 8.

* See what is said on this subject in the history of Cyrus.

purpose; so that, at last, Alexander admiring their constancy, discharged, and sent them home. This delicate resolution of the Jews is a lesson to many Christians, as it teaches them that they are not allowed to join or assist in the commission of an action that is contrary to the law of God.

One cannot forbear admiring the conduct of Providence on this occasion. God had broken to pieces, by the hand of his *servant Cyrus, the idol Belus, the god who rivalled the LORD of Israel: he afterwards caused Xerxes to demolish his temple. These first blows which the LORD struck at Babylon were so many omens of its total ruin; and it was as impossible for Alexander to complete the re-building of this temple, as for Julian, some centuries after, to restore that of Jerusalem.

Although Alexander employed himself in the works above-mentioned, during his stay in Babylon, he spent the greatest part of his time in such pleasures as that city afforded; and one would conclude, that the chief aim, both of his occupations and diversions, was to stupefy himself, and to drive from his mind the melancholy and afflicting ideas of an impending death, with which he was threatened by all the predictions of the Magi and other soothsayers: for though in certain moments, he seemed not to regard the various notices which had been given him, he was however seriously affected with them inwardly; and these gloomy reflections were for ever returning to his mind. They terrified him at last to such a degree, that whenever the most insignificant thing happened (if ever so little extraordinary and unusual) his imagination swelled it immediately to a prodigy, and interpreted it into an unhappy omen. The palace was now filled with sacrificers, with persons whose office was to perform expiations and purifications, and with others who pretended to see into futurity and prophesy things to come.

* GOD gives him this name in Isaiah.

It was certainly a spectacle worthy a philosophic eye, to see a prince, at whose nod the world trembled, abandoned to the strongest terrors; so true is it, says Plutarch, that if the contempt of the gods, and the incredulity which prompts us neither to fear nor believe any thing, be a great misfortune, superstition, which enslaves the soul to the most abject fears, the most ridiculous follies, is a misfortune no less to be dreaded, and no less fatal in its consequences. It is plain that GOD, by a just judgment, took a pleasure in degrading, before the eyes of all nations, and in every age, and in sinking lower than the condition of the vulgar, the man who had affected to set himself above human nature, and equal himself to the Deity. This prince had sought, in all his actions, that vain glory of conquest which men most admire; and to which they affix, more than to any thing else, the idea of grandeur: and GOD delivers him up to a ridiculous superstition, which men of good sense and understanding despise most, and than which nothing can be more weak or grovelling.

Alexander was therefore for ever solemnizing new festivals and perpetually at new banquets, in which he quaffed with his usual intemperance. After having spent a whole night in carousing, a second entertainment was proposed to him. He met accordingly, and there were twenty guests at table. He drank to the health of every person in company, and then pledged them severally. After this, calling for Hercules's cup, which held six bottles, it was filled, when he poured it all down, drinking to a Macedonian of the company, Proteas by name, and afterwards pledged him again, in the same enormous bumper. He had no sooner swallowed it, than he fell upon the floor. "Here, then," cries * Seneca, (describing the fatal effects of drunkenness) "is this

* *Alexandrum tot itinera, tot prælia, tot hiemes, per quas, victâ temporum locorumque difficultate, transierat, tot flumina ex ignoto cadentia, tot maria tutum dimiserunt; intemperantia bibendi et ille Herculaneus ac fatalis scyphus condidit.* SENEC. Epist. 83.

" hero; invincible by all the toils of prodigious " marches, by the dangers of sieges and combats, " by the most violent extremes of heat and cold; " here he lies, conquered by his intemperance, and " struck to the earth by the fatal cup of Hercules."

In this condition he was seized with a violent fever, and carried half dead to his palace. The fever continued, though with some considerable intervals, in which he gave the necessary orders for the sailing of the fleet, and the marching of his land-forces, being persuaded he should soon recover. But at last, finding himself past all hopes, and his voice beginning to fail, he drew his ring from his finger, and gave it to Perdiccas, with orders to convey his corpse to the temple of Ammon.

Notwithstanding * his great weakness, he however struggled with death, and raising himself upon his elbow, presented his soldiers (to whom he could not refuse this last testimony of friendship) his dying hand to kiss. After this, his principal courtiers asking to whom he left the empire, he answered, " To the most worthy;" adding, " that he fore- " saw the decision of this would give occasion to " strange funeral games after his decease." And Perdiccas, enquiring further at what time they should pay him divine honours; he replied, " When " you are happy." These were his last words, and soon after he expired. He was thirty-two years and eight months old, of which he had reigned twelve. He died in the middle of the spring, the first year of the CXIVth Olympiad.

A. M. 3683. Ant. J. C. 321. No one, say Plutarch and Arrian, suspected then that Alexander had been poisoned; and yet it is at this time that such reports generally prevail. But the state of his body proved that he did not die

* *Quanquam violentia morbi dilabebatur, in cubitum tamen erectus, dextram omnibus, qui eam contingere vellent, porrexit. Quis autem, illam osculari non curreret, quæ jam fato oppressa; maximi exercitûs complexui, humanitate quàm spiritu vividiore, sufficit?* Val. Max. l. v. c. 1.

by that means; for all his chief officers disagreeing among themselves, the corpse, though it lay quite neglected for several days in Babylon, which stands in a hot climate, did not show the least symptoms of putrefaction. The true poison which brought him to his end was wine, which has killed many thousands besides Alexander. It was nevertheless believed afterwards, that this prince had been poisoned by the treachery of Antipater's sons; that Cassander, the eldest of them, brought the * poison from Greece; that Iolas, his younger brother, threw the fatal draught into Alexander's cup, of which he was the bearer; and that he cunningly chose the time of the great feast mentioned before, in order that the prodigious quantity of wine he then drank, might conceal the true cause of his death. The state of Antipater's affairs, at that time, gave some grounds for this suspicion. He was persuaded that he had been recalled with no other view than to ruin him, because of his mal-administration during his vice-royalty; and it was not altogether improbable, that he commanded his son to commit a crime, which would save his own life, by taking away that of his sovereign. An undoubted circumstance is, that he could never wash out this stain; and that as long as he lived the Macedonians detested him as a traitor who had poisoned their king. Aristotle was also suspected, but with no great foundation.

Whether Alexander lost his life by poison or by excessive drinking, it is surprising to see the prediction of the Magi and soothsayers, with regard to his dying in Babylon, so exactly fulfilled. It is certain

* It is pretended that this poison was an extremely cold water, which distils drop by drop, from a rock in Arcadia, called Nonacris. Very little of it falls; and it is so acrimonious that it corrodes whatever vessel receives it, those excepted which are made of a mule's hoof. We are told that it was brought for this horrid purpose from Greece to Babylon, in a vessel of the latter sort.

and indisputable that God had reserved to himself alone the knowledge of futurity; and if the soothsayers and oracles have sometimes foretold things which really came to pass, they could do it no other way than by their impious correspondence with devils, who by their penetration and natural sagacity find out several methods whereby they dive to a certain degree into futurity, with regard to approaching events; and are enabled to make predictions, which though they appear above the reach of human understanding, are not yet above that of malicious spirits of darkness. The knowledge * those evil spirits have of all the circumstances which precede and lead to an event; the part they frequently bear in it, by inspiring such of the wicked as are given up to them, with the thoughts and desire of doing certain actions, and committing certain crimes; an inspiration to which they are sure those wicked persons will consent: by these things, devils are enabled to foresee and foretel certain particulars. They, indeed, often mistake in their conjectures, but † GOD also sometimes permits them to succeed in them, in order to punish the impiety of those, who, in contradiction to his commands, enquire their fate of such lying spirits.

The moment that Alexander's death was known, the whole palace echoed with cries and groans. The vanquished bewailed him with as many tears as the victors. The grief for his death occasioning the remembrance of his many good qualities, all his faults were forgotten. The Persians declared him to have been the most just, the kindest sovereign that ever reigned over them; the Macedonians the

* *Dæmones perversis (solent) malefacta suadere, de quorum moribus certi sunt quòd sint eis talia suadentibus consensuri, Suadent autem miris et invisibilibus modis.* S. AUGUST. de Divinat. Dæmon. p. 509.

† *Facile est et non incongruum, ut omnipotens et justus ad eorum pœnam quibus ista prædicuntur—occulto apparatu ministeriorum suorum etiam spiritibus talibus aliquid divinationis impertiat.* S. AUG. de Div. Quæst. ad Simplic. l. ii. Quæst. 3.

best, the most valiant prince in the universe; and all exclaimed against the gods for having enviously bereaved mankind of him in the flower of his age, and the height of his fortune. The Macedonians imagined they saw Alexander, with a firm and intrepid air, still lead them on to battle, besiege cities, climb walls, and reward such as had distinguished themselves. They then reproached themselves for having refused him divine honours; and confessed they had been ungrateful and impious, for bereaving him of a name he so justly merited.

After paying him this homage of veneration and tears, they turned their whole thoughts and reflections on themselves, and on the sad condition to which they were reduced by Alexander's death. They considered that they were on the farther side (with respect to Macedonia) of the Euphrates, without a leader to head them; and surrounded with enemies, who abhorred their new yoke. As the king died without nominating his successor, a dreadful futurity presented itself to their imagination; and exhibited nothing but divisions, civil wars, and a fatal necessity of still shedding their blood, and of opening their former wounds, not to conquer Asia, but only to give a king to it; and to raise to the throne perhaps some mean officer or wicked wretch.

This great mourning was not confined merely to Babylon, but spread over all the province; and the news of it soon reached Darius's mother. One of her grand-daughters was with her, still inconsolable for the loss of Hephæstion her husband, and the sight of the public calamity recalled all her private woes. But Sysigambis bewailed the several misfortunes of her family; and this new affliction awaked the remembrance of all its former sufferings. One would have thought that Darius was but just dead, and that this unfortunate mother solemnized the funeral of two sons at the same time. She wept the living no less than the dead: "Who now," would she say, "will take care of my

"daughters? where shall we find another Alex-
"ander?" She would fancy she saw them again reduced to a state of captivity, and that they had lost their kingdom a second time; but with this difference, that now Alexander was gone they had no refuge left. At last she sunk under her grief. This princess, who had borne with patience the death of her father, her husband, of fourscore of her brothers, who were murdered in one day by Ochus, and, to say all in one word, that of Darius her son, and the ruin of her family; though she had, I say, submitted patiently to all these losses, she however had not strength sufficient to support herself after the death of Alexander.[a] She would not take any sustenance, and starved herself to death, to avoid surviving this last calamity.

After Alexander's death, great contentions arose among the Macedonians, about appointing him a successor; of which I shall give an account in its proper place. After seven days spent in confusion and disputes, it was agreed that Aridæus, bastard brother to Alexander, should be declared king, and that in case Roxana, who was eight months gone with child, should be delivered of a son, he should share the throne in conjunction with Aridæus, and that Perdiccas should have the care of both; for Aridæus was an idiot, and wanted a guardian as much as a child.

The Egyptians and Chaldeans having embalmed the king's corpse after their manner, Aridæus was appointed to convey it to the temple of Jupiter-Ammon. [a] Two whole years were employed in preparing for this magnificent funeral, which made Olympias bewail the fate of her son, who having had the ambition to rank himself among the gods, was so long deprived of burial; a privilege generally allowed to the meanest of mortals.

[a] Ælian. l. xiii. c. 30.

SECT. XIX. *The judgment which we are to form of Alexander.*

THE reader would not be satisfied, if, after having given a detail of Alexander's actions, I should not here take notice of the judgment which we are to form of them; especially as authors have entirely differed in their opinions with regard to the merits of this prince. Some have applauded him with a kind of ecstasy, as the model of a perfect hero, which opinion seems to be the most prevalent: others, on the contrary, have represented him in such colours as at least sully if not quite eclipse, the splendour of his victories.

This diversity of sentiment denotes that of Alexander's qualities; and it must be confessed, that good and evil, virtues and vices, were never more equally blended in any prince.* But this is not all; for Alexander appears very different, according to the times or circumstances in which we consider him, as Livy has very justly observed. In the enquiry he makes concerning the fate of Alexander's arms, supposing he had turned them towards Italy, he † discovers in him a kind of double Alexander; the one wise, temperate, judicious, brave, intrepid, but at the same time prudent and circumspect: the other immersed in all the wantonness of a haughty prosperity; vain, proud, arrogant, fiery; softened by voluptuousness, abandoned to intemperance and ex-

* *Luxuriâ, industria; comitate, arrogantia; malis bonisque artibus mixtus.* TACIT.

† *Et loquimur de Alexandro nondum vterso secundis rebus, quarum nemo intolerantior fuit. Qui si ex habitu novæ fortunæ, novique, ut ita dicam, ingenii, quod sibi victor induerat, spectetur, Dario magis similis quàm Alexandro in Italiam venisset, et exercitum Macedoniæ oblitum, degenerantemque jam in Persarum mores adduxisset.* LIV. l. ix. n. 18.

cesses; in a word, resembling Darius rather than Alexander; and having made the Macedonians degenerate into all the vices of the Persians, by the new turn of mind, and the new manners he assumed after his conquests.

I shall have an eye to this plan in the account I am now to give of Alexander's character, and shall consider it under two aspects, and in a manner, two æras; first, from his youth till the battle of Issus, and the siege of Tyre, which followed soon after; and secondly from that victory to his death. The former will exhibit to us great qualities with few defects (according to the idea the heathens had of these): the second will represent to us enormous vices; and, notwithstanding the splendour of so many victories, very little true and solid merit, even with regard to warlike actions, a few battles excepted, in which he sustained his reputation.

FIRST PART.

We are first to acknowledge and admire, in Alexander, a happy disposition, cultivated and improved by an excellent education. He had a great, noble, and generous soul. [o] He delighted in beneficence and liberality; qualities he had acquired in his infant years. A young lad, whose business it was to gather up and throw the balls when he played at tennis, to whom he had given nothing, taught him a good lesson on that subject. As he always threw the ball to the other players, the king, with an angry air, cried to him, "And am I then to have no "ball?" "No, Sir," replied the lad, "you do not "ask me for it." This witty and ready answer gave great satisfaction to the prince, who fell a laughing, and afterwards was very liberal to him. After this, there was no occasion to excite him to acts of generosity; for he would be quite angry with such as

[o] Plut. in Alex. p. 687.

refused them at his hands. Finding Phocion continue inflexible on this head, he told him by letter, "that he would no longer be his friend, in case he "refused to accept of his favours."

Alexander, from his early years, as if he had been sensible of the mighty things to which he was born, endeavoured to shine on all occasions, and appear superior to all others. No one was ever fired with so strong a love for glory; and it is well known, that ambition, which is considered by Christians as a great vice, was looked upon by the heathens as a great virtue. It was that which made Alexander support with courage all the toils and fatigues necessary for those who would distinguish themselves in the exercises both of body and mind. He was accustomed very early to a sober, hard, plain way of life, uncorrupted with luxury or delicacy of any kind; a way of life highly advantageous to young soldiers.

I do not know whether any prince in the world had a nobler education than Alexander. He was very conversant in eloquence, poetry, polite learning, the whole circle of arts, and the most abstracted and most sublime sciences. How happy was he in meeting with so great a preceptor! None but an Aristotle was fit for an Alexander. I am overjoyed to find the disciple pay so illustrious a testimony of respect to his master, by declaring he was more indebted to him in one sense, than to his father. A man who thinks and speaks in this manner, must be fully sensible of the great advantages of a good education.

The effects of this were soon seen. Can we admire too much the great solidity and judgment which this young prince discovered in his conversation with the Persian ambassadors? his early wisdom, whilst, in his youth, he acted as regent during his father's absence, and pacified the feuds which had broken out in Macedonia? his courage and bravery

at the battle of Chæronea, in which he so gloriously distinguished himself?

It is painful to me to see him wanting in respect to his father at a public banquet, and even employing severe, insulting expressions on that occasion. It is true, indeed, that the affront which Philip put upon Olympias his mother, in divorcing her, transported him in a manner out of himself; but still no pretence, no injustice or violence, can either justify or excuse such usage to a father and a king.

[p] He afterwards discovered more moderation, when, on occasion of the insolent and seditious discourses held by his soldiers in an insurrection, he said, "That nothing was more royal, than for a "man to hear with calmness himself ill-spoken of, "at the time he is doing good." [q] It has been observed, that the great prince of Condé did not think any thing more worthy of admiration in this conqueror, than the noble haughtiness with which he spoke to the rebellious soldiers, who refused to follow him: "Go," says he, "ungrateful, base "wretches, and proclaim in your country that you "have abandoned your king among nations who "will obey him better than you." "Alexander, "(says that prince) abandoned by his own troops "among barbarians, who were not yet completely "conquered, believes himself so worthy of com-"manding over others, that he did not think men "could refuse to obey him. Whether he were in "Europe or in Asia, among Greeks or Persians, it "was the same to him. He fancied, that where-"ever he found men, he found subjects." Alexander's patience and moderation, which I took notice of at first, are no less worthy of admiration.

The first years of his reign are perhaps the most glorious of his life. That at twenty years of age he should be able to appease the intestine feuds which

[p] Plut. in Alex. p. 688. [q] St. Evremond.

raged in the kingdom: that he either crushed or subjected foreign enemies, and those of the most formidable kind; that he disarmed Greece, most of the nations whereof had united against him; and that in less than two years he should have enabled himself to execute securely those plans his father had so wisely projected; all this supposes a presence of mind, a strength of soul, a courage, an intrepidity, and, what is more than all, a consummate prudence; qualities which form the character of the true hero.

This character he supported in a wonderful manner, during the whole course of his expedition against Darius, till the time mentioned by us. [r] Plutarch very justly admires the bare plan of it, as the most heroic act that ever was. He formed it the very instant he ascended the throne, looking upon this design, in some measure, as a part of what he inherited from his father. When scarce twenty years old, surrounded with dangers both within and without the kingdom, finding his treasury drained and encumbered with debts, to the amount of two hundred * talents, which his father had contracted; with an army greatly inferior in number to that of the Persians: in this condition, Alexander already turns his eyes towards Babylon and Susa, and proposes no less a conquest than that of so vast an empire.

Was this the effect of the pride and rashness of youth? asks Plutarch. Certainly not; replies that author. No man ever formed a warlike enterprise with so great preparations, and such mighty succours, by which I understand (continues Plutarch) magnanimity, prudence, temperance, and courage; preparations and aids, with which he was supplied by philosophy, which he had thoroughly studied; to

[r] Plut. de fortun. Alex. Orat. I. p. 327.

* About thirty thousand pounds.

that we may affirm, that he was as much indebted for his conquest to the lessons of Aristotle his master, as to the instructions of Philip his father.

We may add, that according to all the maxims of war, Alexander's enterprise must naturally be successful. Such an army as his, though not a very great one, consisting of Macedonians and Greeks, that is, of the best troops at that time in the world, trained up to war during a long course of years, inured to toils and dangers, formed by a happy experience to all the exercises of sieges and battles, animated by the remembrance of their past victories, by the hopes of an immense booty, and still more by their hereditary and irreconcilable hatred to the Persians; such troops, I say, headed by Alexander, were almost sure of conquering an army, composed indeed of infinite numbers of men, but of few soldiers.

The swiftness of the execution was answerable to the wisdom of the project. After having gained the affections of all his generals and officers by an unparalleled liberality; and of all his soldiers by an air of goodness, affability, and even familiarity, which, so far from debasing the majesty of a prince, adds to the respect which is paid him such a zeal and tenderness as is proof against all things: after this, I say, the next thing to be done, was to astonish his enemies by bold enterprises, to terrify them by examples of severity; and, lastly, to win them by acts of humanity and clemency. He succeeded wonderfully in these. The passage of the Granicus, followed by a famous victory; the two celebrated sieges of Miletus and Halicarnassus, showed to Asia a young conqueror, to whom no part of military knowledge was unknown. The razing of the latter city to the very foundations, spread an universal terror; but the allowing the enjoyment of their liberties and ancient laws to all those who submitted cheerfully, made the world believe that the conqueror

had no other view than to make nations happy, and to procure them an easy and lasting peace.

His impatience to bathe himself, when covered with sweat, in the river Cydnus, might be looked upon as a giddy, juvenile action, unworthy of his dignity; but we must not judge of it from the manners of the present age. The ancients, all whose exercises had a reference to those of war, accustomed themselves early to bathing and swimming. It is well known, that in Rome, the sons of the nobility, after having heated themselves in the military exercises of the Campus Martius, in running, wrestling, and hurling the javelin, used to plunge into the Tiber, which runs by that city. By these means they enabled themselves to pass rivers and lakes in an enemy's country; for those are never crossed, but after painful marches, and after having been long exposed to the sun-beams, which, with the weight of the soldiers' arms, must necessarily make them sweat. Hence we may apologise for Alexander's bathing himself, which had like to have been fatal to him; especially as he might not know that the waters of this river were so excessively cold.

The two battles of Issus and Arbela, with the siege of Tyre, one of the most famous of antiquity, completed the proof that Alexander possessed all the qualities which form the great soldier; as skill in making choice of a field of battle; such a presence of mind in the heat of action, as is necessary for the giving out proper orders; a courage and bravery, which the most evident dangers served only to animate; an impetuous activity, tempered and guided by such a prudent restraint, as will not suffer the hero to be carried away by an indiscreet ardour; lastly, such a resolution and constancy, as is neither disconcerted by unforeseen obstacles, nor discouraged by difficulties, though seemingly insurmountable, and which knows no other limits or end but victory.

Historians have observed a great * difference between Alexander and his father, in their manner of making war. Stratagem, and even knavery, were the prevailing arts of Philip, who always acted secretly, and in the dark; but his son pursued his schemes with more candour, and without disguise. The one endeavoured to deceive his enemies by cunning, the other to subdue them by force. The former discovered more art, the latter more magnanimity. [s] Philip did not look upon any methods, which conduce to conquest, as ignominious; but Alexander could never prevail upon himself to employ treachery. He, indeed, endeavoured to draw over the ablest of all Darius's generals; but then he employed honourable means. When he marched near Memnon's lands, he commanded his soldiers, under the severest penalties, not to make the least havoc in them. His design, by this conduct, was either to gain him over to his side, or to make the Persians suspect his fidelity. [t] Memnon also prided himself in behaving with generosity towards Alexander; and hearing a soldier speak ill of that prince: "I did not take thee into my pay," says that general, striking him with his javelin, "to "speak injuriously of that prince, but to fight "against him."

The circumstance which raises Alexander above most conquerors, and, as it were, above himself, is the use he made of victory after the battle of Issus. This is the most beautiful incident of his life; is the point of view in which it is his interest to be considered, and in which it is impossible for him not to appear truly great. By the victory of Issus, he had possessed himself, not indeed of Da-

[s] Pausan. l. vii. p. 415. [t] Plut. in Apoph. p. 174.

* *Vincendi ratio utrique diversa. Hic apertè, ille artibus bella tractabat. Deceptis ille gaudere hostibus, hic palàm fusis. Prudentior ille consilio, hic animo magnificentior——Nulla apud Philippum turpis ratio vincendi.* JUSTIN. lib. ix. cap. 8.

rius's person, but of his empire. Not only Sysigambis, that king's mother, was his captive, but also his wife and daughters, princesses whose beauty was not to be paralleled in all Asia.—[u] Alexander was in the bloom of life, a conqueror, free, and not yet engaged in the bands of marriage, as an author observes of the first Scipio Africanus, on a like occasion: nevertheless, his camp was to those princesses, a sacred asylum, or rather a temple, in which their chastity was secured, as under the guard of virtue itself, and so highly revered, that Darius, in his expiring moments, hearing the kind treatment they had met with, could not forbear lifting up his dying hands towards heaven, and wishing success to so wise and generous a conqueror, who governed his passions so absolutely.

In the enumeration of Alexander's good qualities, I must not omit one rarely found among the great, and which nevertheless does honour to human nature, and makes life happy: this is, his being informed by a soul capable of a friendship, tender, unreserved, active, constant, void of pride and arrogance, in so exalted a fortune, which generally considers it alone, makes its grandeur consist in humbling all around it, and is better pleased with servile wretches, than with frank sincere friends.

Alexander endeared himself to his officers and soldiers; treated them with the greatest familiarity; admitted them to his table, his exercises, and conversations; was truly concerned for them when involved in any calamity, grieved for them when sick, rejoiced at their recovery, and was interested in whatever befel them. We have examples of this in Hephæstion, in Ptolemy, in Craterus, and many others. A prince of real merit loses none of his dignity by such a familiarity and condescension; but, on the contrary, is more beloved and respected upon that very account. Every man of a tall

[u] *Et juvenis, et cœlebs, et victor.* Val. Max. l. iv .3.

stature, does not scruple to put himself upon a level with the rest of mankind, well knowing that he shall over-top them all. It is the interest of truly diminutive persons alone not to vie in stature with the tall, nor to appear in a crowd.

Alexander was dear to others, because they were sensible he was beforehand with them in affection. This circumstance made the soldiers strongly desirous to please him, and fired them with intrepidity; hence they were always ready to execute all his orders, though attended with the greatest difficulties and dangers; this made them submit patiently to the severest hardships, and threw them into the deepest affliction, whenever they happened to give him any room for discontent.

In the picture which has hitherto been given of Alexander, what was wanting to complete his glory? Military virtue has been exhibited in its utmost splendour: goodness, clemency, moderation, and wisdom, have crowned it, and added such a lustre, as greatly enhances its value. Let us suppose, that Alexander, at this juncture, to secure his glory and his victories, stops short in his career; that he himself checks his ambition, and raises Darius to the throne with the same hand that had dispossessed him of it; makes Asia Minor, inhabited chiefly by Greeks, free and independent of Persia: that he declares himself protector of all the cities and states of Greece, in no other view than to secure them their liberties, and the enjoyment of their respective laws and customs; that he afterwards returns to Macedon, and there, contented with the lawful bounds of his empire, makes all his glory and delight consist in rendering his people happy, in procuring for them abundance of all things, in seeing the laws put in execution, and making justice flourish; in causing virtue to be had in honour, and endearing himself to his subjects: in fine, that now become, by the terror of his arms, and much more so by the fame of his virtues, the

admiration of the whole world, he sees himself, in some measure, the arbiter of all nations, and exercises, over the minds of men, such an empire, as is infinitely more lasting and honourable than that which is founded on fear only: supposing all this to have happened, would ever any prince have been as great, as glorious, as revered as Alexander?

To adopt such a resolution, a greatness of soul, and a most refined taste for true glory, are required, such as is seldom met with in history. Men generally do not *consider that the glory which attends the most shining conquests, is greatly inferior to the reputation of a prince, who has despised and trampled upon ambition, and known how to give bounds to universal power. But Alexander was far from possessing these happy qualities His uninterrupted felicity, that never experienced adverse fortune, intoxicated and changed him to such a degree, that he no longer appeared the same man; and I do not remember that ever the poison of prosperity had a more sudden or more forcible effect than upon him.

SECOND PART.

From the siege of Tyre, which was soon after the battle of Issus, in which Alexander displayed all the courage and abilities of a great warrior, we see the virtues and noble qualities of this prince degenerate on a sudden, and make way for the grossest vices and most brutal passions. If we sometimes, through the excesses to which he abandons himself, perceive some bright rays of humanity, gentleness, and moderation, these are the effects of a happy natural

* *Scis ubi vera principis, ubi sempiterna sit gloria—Arcus, et statuas, aras etiam templaque demolitur et obscurat oblivio; contrà, contemptor ambitionis, et infinitæ potentiæ domitor ac frænator animus ipsâ vetustate florescit.* Plin. in Pan. Trajan.

disposition, which, though not quite extinguished by vice, is however governed by it.

Was ever enterprise more wild and extravagant than that of crossing the sandy deserts of Libya; of exposing his army to the danger of perishing with thirst and fatigue; of interrupting the course of his victories, and giving his enemy time to raise a new army, merely for the sake of marching so far, in order to get himself named the son of Jupiter Ammon; and purchase, at so dear a rate, a title which could only render him contemptible?

[x] How mean was it in Alexander, to omit always in his letters, after Darius's defeat, the Greek word, which signifies *health*,* except in those he wrote to Phocion and Antipater! As if this title, because employed by other men, could have degraded a king, who is obliged by his office to procure, at least to wish, all his subjects the enjoyment of the felicity implied by that word.

Of all vices, none is so grovelling, none so unworthy, not only of a prince but of a man of honour, as drunkenness; its bare name is intolerable, and strikes us with horror. How infamous a pleasure is it, to spend whole days and nights in carousing, to continue these excesses for weeks together; to pride one's self in exceeding other men in intemperance, and to endanger one's life in no other view than to gain such a victory! Not to mention the infamous enormities that attend these debauches, how shocking is it to hear the frantic discourses of a son, who, intoxicated with the fumes of wine, industriously strives to defame his father, to sully his glory, and, lost to all shame, scruples not to prefer himself to him? Drunkenness is only the occasion, not the cause, of these excesses. It betrays the sentiments of the heart, but does not place them there. Alexander, puffed up by his victories,

[x] Plut. in Phoc. p. 749.

* Χαίρειν.

greedy and insatiable of praise, intoxicated with the mighty idea he entertained of his own merit, jealous of, or despising all mankind, is able in his sober moments to conceal his sentiments; but no sooner is he intoxicated, than he shows himself to be what he really is.

What shall we say of his barbarously murdering an old friend; who, though indiscreet and rash, was yet his friend? Of the death of the most honest man in all his court, whose only crime was his refusing to pay him divine homage? Of the execution of two of his principal officers, who were condemned, though nothing could be proved against them, and on the slightest suspicions?

I pass over a great many other vices, which Alexander, according to most historians, gave into, and which are not to be justified: to speak of him, therefore, only as a warrior and a conqueror; qualities with respect to which he is generally considered, and which have gained him the esteem of all ages and nations; all we now have to do is, to examine whether this esteem be so well grounded as is generally supposed.

I have already observed, that, to the battle of Issus and the siege of Tyre inclusively, it cannot be denied but that Alexander was a great warrior and an illustrious general. But yet I doubt very much, whether, during these first years of his exploits, he ought to be set above his father Philip; whose actions, though not so dazzling, are however as much applauded by good judges, and those of the military profession. Philip, at his accession to the throne, found all things unsettled. He himself was obliged to lay the foundations of his own fortune, and was not supported by the least foreign assistance. He alone raised himself to the power and grandeur to which he afterwards attained. He was obliged to train up, not only his soldiers, but his officers; to instruct them in all the military exercises; to inure them to the fatigues of war; and to his

care and abilities alone Macedonia owed the rise of the celebrated phalanx, that is, of the best troops the world had then ever seen, and to which Alexander owed all his conquests. How many obstacles stood in Philip's way, before he could possess himself of the power which Athens, Sparta, and Thebes, had successively exercised over Greece! The Greeks, who were the bravest people in the universe, would not acknowledge him for their chief, till he acquired that title by wading through seas of blood, and by gaining numberless conquests over them. Thus we see, that the way was prepared for Alexander's executing his great design; the plan whereof, and most excellent instructions relative to it, had been laid down for him by his father. Now, will it not appear a much easier task, to subdue Asia with Grecian armies, than to subject the Greeks who had so often triumphed over Asia?

But without carrying further the parallel of Alexander with Philip, which all, who do not consider heroes according to the number of provinces they have conquered, but by the intrinsic value of their actions, must give in favour of the latter: what judgment are we to form of Alexander, after his triumph over Darius; and is it possible to propose him, during the latter part of his life, as a model worthy the imitation of those who aspire to the character of great soldiers and illustrious conquerors?

In this enquiry, I shall begin with that which is unanimously agreed, by all the writers on this subject, to be the foundation of the solid glory of a hero; I mean the justice of the war in which he engages, without which he is not a conqueror and a hero, but an usurper and a robber. Alexander, in making Asia the seat of war, and turning his arms against Darius, had a plausible pretence for it; because the Persians had been in all ages, and were at that time, professed enemies to the Greeks, over whom he had been appointed generalissimo, and whose injuries he therefore might think himself

justly entitled to revenge. But then, what right had Alexander over the great number of nations, who did not know even the name of Greece, and had never done him the least injury? The Scythian ambassador spoke very judiciously, when he addressed him in these words: "What have we to do with "thee? We never once set our feet in thy country. "Are not those who live in woods allowed to be "ignorant of thee, and the place from whence "thou comest? Thou boastest, that the only de- "sign of thy marching is to extirpate robbers; thou "thyself art the greatest robber in the world." This is Alexander's exact character, in which there is nothing to be rejected.

A pirate spoke to him to the same effect, and in stronger terms. Alexander asked* him what right he had to infest the seas? "The same that thou "hast," replied the pirate with a generous liberty, "to infest the universe; but because I do this in "a small ship, I am called a robber; and because "thou actest the same part with a great fleet, thou "art entitled a conqueror." This was a witty and just answer, says [y] St. Austin, who has preserved this small fragment of Cicero.

If therefore it ought to be laid down as a maxim, and no reasonable man can doubt of its being so, that every war, undertaken merely from views of ambition, is unjust; and that the prince who begins it is guilty of all the sad consequences, and all the blood shed on that occasion: what idea ought we to form of Alexander's last conquests? Was ever ambition more extravagant, or rather more furious, than that of this prince? Coming from a little spot

[y] St. Aust. de Civ. Dei, l. iv. c. iv.

* *Eleganter et veraciter Alexandro illi Magno comprehensus pirata respondit. Nam cùm idem rex hominem interrogâsset, quid ei videretur ut mare haberet infestum; ille, liberâ contumaciâ: Quod tibi, inquit, ut orbem terrarum. Sed quia id ego exiguo navigio facio, latro vocor: quia tu magnâ classe, imperator.* Refert Nonius Marc. ex CICER. 3. de rep.

of ground;* and forgetting the narrow limits of his paternal domains, after he has far extended his conquests; has subdued, not only the Persians, but also the Bactrians and Indians; has added kingdom to kingdom: after all this, I say, he still finds himself pent up; and determined to force, if possible, the barriers of nature, he endeavours to discover a new world, and does not scruple to sacrifice millions of men to his ambition or curiosity. It is related that †Alexander, upon Anaxarchus the philosopher's telling him that there were an infinite number of worlds, wept to think that it would be impossible for him to conquer them all, since he had not yet conquered one. Is it wrong in ‡Seneca to compare these pretended heroes, who have gained renown no otherwise than by the ruin of nations, to a conflagration and a flood, which lay waste and destroy all things; or to wild beasts, who live merely by blood and slaughter?

Alexander,§ passionately fond of glory, of which

* *Agebat infelicem Alexandrum furor aliena devastandi, et ad ignota mittebat——Jam in unum regnum multa regna conjecit: (*or *congessit) jam Græci Persæque eundem timent: jam etiam à Dario liberæ nationes jugum accipiunt. Hic tamen, ultra Oceanum Solemque, indignatur ab Herculis Liberique vestigiis victoriam flectere: ipsi naturæ vim parat—et, ut ita dicam, mundi claustra perrumpit. Tanta est cæcitas mentium, et tanta initiorum suorum oblivio. Ille modò ignobilis anguli non sine controversiâ Dominus, detecto fine terrarum, per suum rediturus orbem, tristis est.* Senec. Epist. 94 & 119.

† *Alexandro pectus insatiabile laudis, qui Anaxarcho—innumerabiles Mundos esse referenti; Heu me, inquit, miserum, quòd ne uno quidem adhuc potitus sum! Angusta homini possessio gloriæ fuit, quæ Deorum omnium domicilio suffecit.* Val. Max. lib. viii. cap. 14.

‡ *Exitio gentium clari, non minores fuere pestes mortalium, quàm inundatio—quàm conflagratio.* Senec. Nat. Quæst. lib. iii. in. Præfat.

§ *Homo gloriæ déditus, cujus nec naturam nec modum noverat, Herculis vestigia sequens ac ne ibi quidem resistens ubi illa defecerant. Quid illi (Herculi) simile habebat vesanus adolescens, cui pro virtute erat felix temeritas? Hercules nihil sibi vicit: orbem terrarum transivit, non concupiscendo, sed vindicando. Quid vinceret malorum hostis, bonorum vindex, terrarum marisque pa-*

he neither knew the nature nor just bounds, prided himself upon treading in the steps of Hercules, and even in carrying his victorious arms farther than he. What resemblance was there, says the same Seneca, between that wise conqueror and this frantic youth, who mistook his successful rashness for merit and virtue? Hercules, in his expeditions, made no conquests for himself. He overran the universe as the subduer of monsters, the enemy of the wicked, the avenger of the good, and the restorer of peace by land and sea. Alexander, on the contrary, an unjust robber from his youth, a cruel ravager of provinces, an infamous murderer of his friends, makes his happiness and glory consist in rendering himself formidable to all mortals, forgetting that not only the fiercest animals, but even the vilest, make themselves feared by their venom.

But leaving this first consideration, which represents conquerors to us as so many scourges sent by the wrath of Heaven into the world to punish the sins of it, let us proceed to examine the later conquests of Alexander abstractedly in themselves, in order to see what judgment we are to form of them.

It must be confessed that the actions of this prince diffuse a splendour that dazzles and astonishes the imagination, which is ever fond of the great and marvellous. His enthusiastic courage raises and transports all who read his history, as it transported himself. But ought we to give the name of bravery and valour to a boldness that is equally blind, rash, and impetuous; a boldness void of all rule, that will never listen to the voice of reason, and has no other guide than a senseless ardour for false glory, and a wild desire of distinguishing itself, at any

cator? At hic à pueritiâ latro, gentiumque vastator, tam hostium pernicies quàm amicorum, qui summum bonum duceret terrori esse cunctis mortalibus; oblitus, non ferocissima tantùm sed ignavissima quoque animalia timeri ob virus malum. SENEC. de Benef. l. i. c. 13.

price? This character suits only a military robber, who has no attendants; whose own life is alone exposed; and who, for that reason, may be employed in some desperate action: but the case is far otherwise with regard to a king, for he owes his life to all his army and his whole kingdom. If we except some very rare occasions, on which a prince is obliged to venture his person, and share the danger with his troops in order to preserve them; he ought to call to mind, that there is a great difference between a general and a private soldier. True valour is not desirous of displaying itself, is no ways anxious about its own reputation, but is solely intent on preserving the army. It steers equally between a timid prudence, that foresees and dreads all difficulties, and a brutal ardour which industriously pursues and confronts dangers of every kind. In a word, to form an accomplished general, prudence must soften and direct the too fiery temper of valour; as valour in return must animate and warm the coldness and slowness of prudence.

Do any of these characteristics suit Alexander? When we peruse his history, and follow him to sieges and battles, we are perpetually alarmed for his safety, and that of his army; and conclude every moment that they are upon the point of being destroyed. Here we see a rapid flood, which is going to draw in and swallow up this conqueror: there we behold a craggy rock, which he climbs, and perceives round him soldiers, either transfixed by the enemy's darts, or thrown headlong by huge stones into precipices. We tremble when we perceive in a battle the axe just ready to cleave his head; and much more when we behold him alone in a fortress, whither his rashness had drawn him, exposed to all the javelins of the enemy. Alexander was ever persuaded, that miracles would be wrought in his favour, than which nothing could be more unreasonable, as Plutarch observes; for miracles do not always happen; and the gods at last are weary of

guiding and preserving rash mortals, who abuse the assistance they afford them.

[z] Plutarch, in a *treatise where he makes the eulogium of Alexander, and exhibits him as an accomplished hero, gives a long detail of the several wounds he received in every part of his body; and pretends that the only design of fortune, in thus piercing him with wounds, was to make his courage more conspicuous. A renowned warrior, whose eulogium Plutarch has drawn in another part of his writings, did not judge in this manner. [a] Some persons applauding him for a wound he had received in battle, the general himself declared, that it was a fault which could be excused only in a young man, and justly deserved censure. It has been observed in Hannibal's praise, and I myself have taken notice of it elsewhere, that he was never wounded †in all his battles. I cannot say whether Cæsar ever was.

The last observation, which relates in general to all Alexander's expeditions in Asia, must necessarily lessen very much the merit of his victories, and the splendour of his reputation; and this is the genius and character of the nations against whom he fought. Livy, in a digression, where he enquires what would have been the fate of Alexander's arms, in case he had turned them towards Italy; and where he shows that Rome would certainly have checked his conquests, insists strongly on the reflection in question. He opposes to this prince, in the article of courage, a great number of illustrious Romans, who would have resisted him on all occasions; and in the article of prudence, that august senate, which Cineas, to give a more noble idea of it to Pyrrhus his sovereign, said, was com-

[z] Plut. de fortun. Alex. Orat. II. p. 341.

[a] Timotheus, Plut. in Pelop. p. 278.

* This treatise, if written by Plutarch, seems a juvenile performance, and has very much the air of declamation.

† Mention is made but of one single wound.

posed of so many kings. "Had he *marched "(says Livy) against the Romans, he would soon "have found, that he was no longer combating "against a Darius, who, encumbered with gold and "purple, the vain equipage of his grandeur, and "dragging after him a multitude of women and "eunuchs, came as a prey rather than as an enemy; "and whom Alexander conquered without shed- "ding much blood, and without wanting any other "merit, than that of daring to despise what was "really contemptible. He would have found Italy "very different from India, through which he "marched in a riotous manner, his army quite stu- "pefied with wine; particularly when he should "have seen the forests of Apulia, the mountains of "Lucania, and the still recent footsteps of the de- "feat of Alexander his uncle, king of Epirus, who "there lost his life." The historian adds, that he speaks of Alexander, not yet depraved and corrupted by prosperity, whose subtle poison worked as strongly upon him, as upon any man that ever lived; and he concludes, that being thus transformed, he would have appeared very different in Italy from what he had seemed hitherto.

These reflections of Livy show, that Alexander partly owed his victories to the weakness of his enemies; and that, had he met with nations as courageous, and as well inured to all the hardships of war as the Romans, and commanded by as able, experienced generals as those of Rome; his victories would not have been either so rapid, or so uninterrupted. Nevertheless these are the points

* *Non jam cum Dario rem esse dixisset, quem mulierum ac spadonum agmen trahentem, inter purpuram atque aurum, oneratum fortunæ suæ apparatibus, prædam veriùs quàm hostem, nihil aliud quàm bene ausus vana contemnere, incruentus devicit. Longè alius Italiæ, quàm Indiæ, per quam tumulento agmine comessabundus incessit, visus illi habitus esset, saltus Apuliæ ac montes Lucanos cernenti, et vestigia recentia domesticæ cladis, ubi avunculus ejus nuper, Epiri rex, Alexander absumptus erat.* Liv. l. ix. n. 17.

from which we are to judge of the merits of a conqueror. Hannibal and Scipio are considered as two of the greatest generals that ever lived, and for this reason: because both of them not only understood perfectly the military science, but their experience, their abilities, their resolution and courage, were put to the trial, and set in the strongest light. Now, should we give to either of them an unequal antagonist, one whose reputation is not answerable to theirs, we shall no longer have the same idea of them; and their victories, though supposed alike, appear no longer with the same lustre, nor deserve the same applause.

Mankind are but too apt to be dazzled by shining actions and a pompous exterior, and blindly abandon themselves to prejudices of every kind. It cannot be denied that Alexander possessed very great qualities; but if we throw into the other scale his errors and vices, the presumptuous *idea he entertained of his own merit, the high contempt he had for other men, not excepting his own father; his ardent thirst of praise and flattery; his ridiculous notion of making himself believed to be the son of Jupiter; of ascribing divinity to himself; of requiring a free victorious people to pay him a servile homage, and prostrate themselves ignominously before him; his abandoning himself so shamefully to wine; his violent anger, which rises to brutal ferocity; the unjust and barbarous execution of his bravest and most faithful officers, and the murder of his most worthy friends in the midst of feasts and carousals; can any one, says Livy, believe, that all these imperfections do not greatly sully the

* *Referre in tanto rege piget superbam mutationem vestis, et desideratas humi jacentium adulationes, etiam victis Macedonibus graves, nedum victoribus; et fœda supplicia, et inter vinum et epulas cædes amicorum, et vanitatem ementiendæ stirpis. Quid si vini amor in dies fieret acrior; quid si trux ac præfervida ira: (nec quicquam dubium inter scriptores refero) nullane hæc damna imperatoriis virtutibus ducimus?* Liv. l. ix. n. 17.

reputation of a conqueror? But Alexander's frantic ambition, which knows neither law nor limits; the rash intrepidity with which he braves dangers, without the least reason or necessity; the weakness and ignorance of the nations (totally unskilled in war) against whom he fought; do not these enervate the reasons for which he is thought to have merited the surname of Great, and the title of Hero? I leave the decision of the question to the prudence and equity of my reader.

As to myself, I am surprised to find that all orators who applaud a prince, never fail to compare him to Alexander. They fancy that when he is once equalled to this king, it is impossible for panegyric to soar higher: they cannot image to themselves any thing more august; and think they have omitted the stroke which finishes the glory of a hero, should they not exalt him by this comparison. In my opinion this denotes a false taste, a wrong turn of thinking; and if I might be allowed to say it, a want of judgment, which must naturally shock a reasonable mind. For, as Alexander was invested with supreme power, he ought to have fulfilled the several duties of the sovereignty. We do not find that he possessed the first, the most essential, and most excellent virtues of a great prince, which are to be the father, the guardian, and shepherd of his people; to govern them by good laws; to make their trade, both by sea and land, flourish; to encourage and protect arts and sciences, to establish peace and plenty, and not suffer his subjects to be in any manner aggrieved or injured; to maintain an agreeable harmony between all orders of the state, and make them conspire, in due proportion, to the public welfare; to employ himself in doing justice to all his subjects, to hear their disputes, and reconcile them; to consider himself as the father of his people, as obliged to provide for all their necessities, and to procure them the several enjoyments of life. Now Alexander, who almost a moment

after he ascended the throne left Macedonia, and never returned back into it, did not endeavour at any of these things, which however are the chief and most substantial duties of a great prince.

He seems possessed of such qualities only as are of the second rank, I mean those of war, and these are all extravagant; are carried to the rashest and most odious excess, and to the extremes of folly and fury; whilst his kingdom is left a prey to the rapine and exactions of Antipater; and all the conquered provinces abandoned to the insatiable avarice of the governors, who carried their oppressions so far, that Alexander was forced to put them to death. Nor do his soldiers appear to be better regulated: for these, after having plundered the wealth of the East, after the prince had given them the highest marks of his beneficence, grew so licentious, so disorderly, so debauched and abandoned to vices of every kind, that he was forced to pay their debts, by a largess of fifteen hundred thousand pounds. What strange men were these! how depraved their school! how pernicious the fruit of their victories! Is it doing honour to a prince, is it adorning his panegyric, to compare him with such a model?

The Romans, indeed, seemed to have held Alexander's memory in great veneration; but I very much question whether in the virtuous ages of the commonwealth, he would have been considered as so great a man. Cæsar[b] seeing his statue in a temple in Spain, during his government of that country after his prætorship, could not forbear groaning and sighing, when he compared the few glorious actions achieved by himself, with the mighty exploits of this conqueror. It was said that Pompey, in one of his triumphs, appeared dressed in that king's surtout. Augustus pardoned the Alexandrians,

[b] Dion. l. xxxvii. p. 53. App. de Bell. Mithrid. p. 253. Dion. l. li. p. 454. Id. l. lix. p 653. Id. l. lxxvii. p. 873.

for the sake of their founder. Caligula, in a ceremony in which he assumed the character of a mighty conqueror, wore Alexander's coat of mail. But no one carried his veneration for this monarch so far as Caracalla. He used the same kind of arms and goblets as that prince: he had a Macedonian phalanx in his army: he persecuted the Peripatetics, and would have burnt all the books of Aristotle their founder, because he was suspected to have conspired with those who poisoned Alexander.

I believe that I may justly assert, that, if an impartial person of good sense reads Plutarch's lives of illustrious men with attention, they will leave such a tacit and strong impression in his mind, as will make him consider Alexander one of the least valuable among them. But how strong would the contrast be found, had we the lives of Epaminondas, of Hannibal and Scipio, the loss of which can never be too much regretted! How little would Alexander appear, set off with all his titles, and surrounded by all his conquests, even if considered in a military light, when compared to those heroes who were truly great, and worthy their exalted reputation!

SECT. XX. *Reflections on the Persians, Greeks, and Macedonians, by Monsieur Bossuet, Bishop of Meaux.*

THE reader will not be displeased with my inserting here part of the admirable* reflections of the Bishop of Meaux, on the character and government of the Persians, Greeks, and Macedonians, with whose history we have been engaged.

The Greek nations, several of whom had at first lived under a monarchical form of government, having studied the arts of civil polity, imagined they

* Discourse on universal history. Part iii. chap. 4.

were able to govern themselves, and most of their cities formed themselves into commonwealths. But the wise legislators, who arose in every country, as a Thales, a Pythagoras, a Pittacus, a Lycurgus, a Solon, and many others mentioned in history, prevented liberty from degenerating into licentiousness. Laws drawn up with great simplicity, and few in number, awed the people, held them in their duty, and made them all conspire to the general good of the country.

The idea of liberty which such a conduct inspired was wonderful. For the liberty which the Greeks figured to themselves, was subject to the law, that is, to reason itself, acknowledged as such by the whole nation. They would not let men rise to power among them. Magistrates, who were feared during their office, became afterwards private men, and had no authority but what their experience gave them. The law was considered as their sovereign; it was she who appointed magistrates, prescribed the limits of their power, and punished their maladministration. The advantage of this government was, that the citizens bore so much the greater love to their country, as all shared in the government of it; and as every individual was capable of attaining its highest dignities.

The advantage which accrued to Greece from philosophy, with regard to the preservation of its form of government, is incredible. The greater freedom these nations enjoyed, the greater necessity there was to settle the laws relating to manners and those of society, agreeable to reason and good sense. From Pythagoras, Thales, Anaxagoras, Socrates, Archytas, Plato, Xenophon, Aristotle, and a multitude more, the Greeks received their noble precepts.

But why should we mention philosophers only? The writings of even the poets, which were in every body's hands, amused them very much, but instructed them still more. The most renowned of con-

querors considered Homer as a master, who taught him to govern wisely. This great poet instructed people, no less happily, in obedience, and the duties of a good citizen.

When the Greeks, thus educated, saw the delicacy of the Asiatics; their dress and beauty, emulating that of women, they held them in the utmost contempt. But their form of government, that had no other rule than their prince's will, which took place of all laws, not excepting the most sacred, inspired them with horror; and the barbarians were the most hateful of objects to Greece.

[c]The Greeks had imbibed this hatred in the most early times, and it was become almost natural to them. A circumstance which made them delight so much in Homer's poems, was his celebrating the advantages and victories of Greece over Asia. On the side of Asia was Venus, that is to say, the pleasures, the idle loves, and effeminacy: on that of Greece was Juno, or in other words, gravity with conjugal affection, Mercury with eloquence, and Jupiter with wise policy. With the Asiatics was Mars, an impetuous and brutal deity, that is to say, war carried on with fury: with the Greeks Pallas, or, in other words, the science of war and valour, conducted by reason. The Grecians, from this time, had ever imagined, that understanding and true bravery were natural as well as peculiar to them. They could not bear the thoughts of Asia's design to conquer them; and in bowing to this yoke, they would have thought they had subjected virtue to pleasure, the mind to the body, and true courage to brutal strength, which consisted merely in numbers.

The Greeks were strongly inspired with these sentiments, when Darius, son of Hystaspes, and Xerxes, invaded them with armies so prodigiously numerous as exceeds all belief. The Persians found often, to

[c] Isocrates in Panegyr.

their cost, the great advantage which discipline has over multitudes and confusion; and how greatly superior courage (when conducted by skill) is to a blind impetuosity.

Persia, after having been so often conquered by the Greeks, had nothing to do but to sow divisions among them; and the height to which conquest had raised the latter, facilitated the design. [d] As fear held them in the bands of union, victory and security dissolved them. Having been always used to fight and conquer, they no sooner believed that they had no longer any thing to fear from the power of the Persians, than they turned their arms against each other.

Among the several republics of which Greece was composed, Athens and Lacedæmon were undoubtedly the chief. These two great commonwealths, whose manners and conduct were directly opposite, perplexed and incommoded one another, in the common design they had of subjecting all Greece; so that they were eternally at variance, and this more from a contrariety of interests, than an opposition of tempers and dispositions.

The Grecian cities would not subject themselves to either: for, besides that every one of them desired to live free and independent, they were not pleased with the government of either of those two commonwealths. We have shown, in the course of this history, that the Peloponnesian, and other wars, were either owing to, or supported by, the reciprocal jealousy of Lacedæmon and Athens. But at the same time that this jealousy disturbed, it supported Greece in some measure; and kept it from being dependent on either of those republics.

The Persians soon perceived this state and condition of Greece; after which, the whole secret of their politics was to keep up these jealousies, and foment these divisions. Lacedæmon, being the most ambitious, was the first that made them en-

[d] Plat. de Leg. l. iii.

gage in the Grecian quarrels. The Persians took part in them, with a view of subjecting the whole nation; and industrious to make the Greeks weaken one another, they only waited for the favourable instant to crush them altogether. [a] Already the cities of Greece considered, in their wars, only the king of Persia; whom they called the great king, or the king, by way of eminence, as if they already thought themselves his subjects. However, when Greece was upon the brink of slavery, and ready to fall into the hands of the barbarians, it was impossible for the genius, the ancient spirit of the country, not to rouse and take the alarm. Agesilaus, king of Lacedæmonia, made the Persians tremble in Asia Minor, and showed that they might be humbled. Their weakness was still more evident by the glorious retreat of the ten thousand Greeks, who had followed the Younger Cyrus.

It was then that all Greece saw more plainly than ever, that it possessed an invincible body of soldiery, which was able to subdue all nations; and that nothing but its feuds and divisions could subject it to an enemy, who was too weak to resist it when united.

Philip of Macedon, a prince whose abilities were equal to his valour, took so great advantage of the divisions which reigned between the various cities and commonwealths, that though his kingdom was but small, yet, as it was united, and his power absolute, he at last, partly by artifice and partly by strength, rose to greater power than any of the Grecian states, and obliged them all to march under his standards against the common enemy. This was the state of Greece when Philip lost his life, and Alexander his son succeeded to his kingdom, and to the designs he had projected.

The Macedonians, at his accession, were not only well disciplined and inured to toils, but trium-

[a] Plat. de Leg. l. iii. Isocrat. in Paneg.

phant; and become, by so many successes, almost as much superior to the other Greeks in valour and discipline, as the rest of the Greeks were superior to the Persians, and to such nations as resembled them.

Darius, who reigned over Persia in Alexander's time, was a just, brave, and generous prince; was beloved by his subjects, and wanted neither good sense nor vigour, for the execution of his designs. But, if we compare the two monarchs; if we oppose the genius of Darius, to the penetrating sublime one of Alexander; the valour of the former, to the mighty invincible courage (which obstacles animated) of the latter; with that boundless desire which Alexander possessed, of augmenting his glory, and his entire belief that all things ought to bend before him, as being formed by Providence superior to the rest of mortals; a belief with which he inspired not only his generals, but the meanest of his soldiers, who thereby rose above difficulties, and even above themselves; the reader will easily judge which of the monarchs was to be victorious.

If to these considerations we add the advantages which the Greeks and Macedonians had over their enemies, it must be confessed, that it was impossible for the Persian empire to subsist any longer, when invaded by so great a hero, and by such invincible armies. And thus we discover, at one and the same time, the circumstance which ruined the empire of the Persians, and raised that of Alexander.

To smoothe his way to victory, the Persians happened to lose the only general who was able to make head against the Greeks, and this was Memnon of Rhodes. So long as Alexander fought against this illustrious warrior, he might glory in having vanquished an enemy worthy of himself. But in the very infancy of a diversion, which began already to distract Greece, Memnon died, after which Alexander obliged all things to give way before him.

This prince made his entrance into Babylon with a splendour and magnificence which had never been seen before; and, after having revenged Greece, after subduing, with incredible swiftness, all the nations subject to Persia; to secure his new empire on every side, or rather to satiate his ambition, and render his name more famous than that of Bacchus, he marched into India, and there extended his conquests farther than that celebrated conqueror had done. But the monarch, whose impetuous career neither deserts, rivers, nor mountains could stop, was obliged to yield to the murmurs of his soldiers, who called aloud for ease and repose.

Alexander returned to Babylon, dreaded and respected, not as a conqueror, but as a god. Nevertheless, the formidable empire he had acquired, subsisted no longer than his life, which was but short. At thirty-three years of age, in the midst of the grandest designs that ever man formed, and flushed with the surest hopes of success, he died before he had leisure to settle his affairs on a solid foundation; leaving behind him a brother, who was an idiot, and children very young, all incapable of supporting the weight of such a power.

But the circumstance which proved most fatal to his family and empire, was his having taught the generals who survived him, to breathe nothing but ambition and war. He foresaw the prodigious lengths they would go after his death. To curb their ambitious views, and for fear of mistaking in his conjectures, he did not dare to name his successor, or the guardian of his children. He only foretold, that his friends would solemnize his obsequies with bloody battles; and he expired in the flower of his age, full of the sad images of the confusion which would follow his death.

And indeed, Macedonia, the kingdom he inherited, which his ancestors had governed during so many ages, was invaded on all sides, as a succession that was become vacant; and after being long

exposed a prey to the strongest, was at last possessed by another family. Thus this great conqueror, the most renowned the world ever saw, was the last king of his family. Had he lived peaceably in Macedon, the greatness of his empire would not have proved a temptation to his generals; and he would have left to his children the kingdom he inherited from his ancestors. But rising to too exalted a height of power, he proved the destruction of his posterity; and such was the glorious fruit of all his conquests.

BOOK THE SIXTEENTH.

THE HISTORY OF ALEXANDER'S SUCCESSORS.

SECT. I. *Troubles which followed the death of Alexander. The partition of the provinces among the generals. Aridæus elected king. Perdiccas appointed his guardian, and regent of the empire.*

IN relating the death of Alexander the Great, I mentioned the many troubles and commotions that arose in the army on the first news of that event. All the troops in general, soldiers as well as officers, had their thoughts entirely taken up at first with the loss of a prince whom they loved as a father, and reverenced almost as a god, and abandoned themselves without reserve to grief and tears. A mournful silence reigned at first throughout the camp; but this was soon succeeded by dismal sighs and cries, which spoke the true language of the heart, and in which that vain ostentation of sorrow, which is too often paid to custom and decorum on such occasions,* had no share.

When the first impressions of grief had given place to reflection, they began to consider, with

* *Passim silentia et gemitus; nihil compositum in ostentationem—altiùs mœrebant.* TACIT.

the utmost consternation, the state in which the death of Alexander had left them. They found themselves at an infinite distance from their native country, and amidst a people lately subdued, so little accustomed to their new yoke, that they were hardly acquainted with their present masters, and had not as yet had sufficient time to forget their ancient laws, and that form of government under which they had always lived. What measures could be taken to keep a country of such vast extent in subjection? how could it be possible to suppress those seditions and revolts which would naturally break out on all sides in that decisive moment? what expedients could be formed to restrain those troops within the limits of their duty, who had so long been habituated to complaints and murmurs, and were commanded by chiefs, whose several views and pretensions were so different?

The only remedy for these various calamities seemed to consist in a speedy nomination of a successor to Alexander; and the troops, as well as the officers, and the whole Macedonian state, seemed at first to be very desirous of this expedient: and, indeed, their common interest and security, with the preservation of their new conquests, amidst the barbarous nations that surrounded them, made it necessary for them to consider this election as their first and most important care, and to turn their thoughts to the choice of a person qualified to fill so arduous a station, and sustain the weight of it in such a manner as to be capable of maintaining general order and tranquillity. But it had already been written, [f] "That the kingdom of Alexander "should be divided and rent asunder after his death," and that it should not be transmitted in the usual manner "to his posterity." No efforts of human wisdom could establish a sole successor to that prince. In vain did they deliberate, consult, and

[f] Dan. xi. 4.

decide; [g] nothing could be executed contrary to the preordained event, or, at least, nothing short of it could possibly subsist. A superior and invisible Power had already disposed of the kingdom, and divided it by an inevitable decree, as will be evident in the sequel. The circumstances of this partition had been denounced near three centuries before this time; the portions of it had already been assigned to different possessors, and nothing could frustrate that division, which was only to be deferred for a few years. Till the arrival of that period, men indeed might raise commotions, and concert a variety of movements; but all their efforts would only tend to the accomplishment of what had been ordained by the sovereign Master of kingdoms, and of what had been foretold by his prophet.

Alexander had a son by Barsina, and had conferred the name of Hercules upon him. Roxana, another of his wives, was advanced in her pregnancy when that prince died. He had likewise a natural brother, called Aridæus; but he would not upon his death bed dispose of his dominions in favour of any heir; for which reason this vast empire, which no longer had a master to sway it, became a source of competition and wars, as Alexander had plainly foreseen, when he declared, that his friends would celebrate his funeral with bloody battles.

The division was augmented by the equality among the generals of the army, none of whom was so superior to his colleagues, either by birth or merit, as to induce them to offer him the empire, and submit to his authority. The cavalry were desirous that Aridæus should succeed Alexander. His understanding had been impaired ever since he had been afflicted in his infancy with a violent indisposition, occasioned, as was pretended, by some particular drink which had been given him by Olympias, and which had disordered his senses.

[g] *Non erit—non stabit—non fiet.* ISAI.

This ambitious princess being apprehensive that the engaging qualities she discovered in Aridæus, would be so many obstacles to the greatness of her son Alexander, thought it expedient to have recourse to the criminal precaution already mentioned. The infantry had declared against this prince, and were headed by Ptolemy, and other chiefs of great reputation, who began each to think of their own particular establishment. For a sudden revolution had taken place in the minds of these officers, and caused them to contemn the rank of private persons, and all dependency and subordination, with a view of aspiring to sovereign power, which had never employed their thoughts till then, and to which they never thought themselves qualified to pretend before this conjuncture of affairs.

[h] These disputes, which engaged the minds of all parties, delayed the interment of Alexander for the space of seven days; and, if we may credit some authors, the body continued uncorrupted all that time. It was afterwards delivered to the Egyptians and Chaldeans, who embalmed it after their manner: and Aridæus, a different person from him I have already mentioned, was charged with the care of conveying it to Alexandria.

After a variety of troubles and agitations had intervened, the principal officers assembled at a conference; where it was unanimously concluded, that Aridæus should be king, or rather, that he should be invested with the shadow of royalty. The infirmity of mind, which ought to have excluded him from the throne, was the very motive of their advancing him to it, and united all suffrages in his favour. It favoured the hopes and pretensions of all the chiefs, and covered their designs. It was also agreed in this assembly, that if Roxana, who was then in the sixth or eighth month of her pregnancy, should have a son, he should be associated

[h] Q. Curt. l. x. Justin. l. xiii. Diod. l. xviii.

with Aridæus in the throne. Perdiccas, to whom Alexander on his death bed had left his ring, had the person of the prince consigned to his care as a guardian, and was constituted regent of the kingdom.

The same assembly, whatever respect they might bear to the memory of Alexander, thought fit to annul some of his regulations, which would have been destructive to the state, and have exhausted his treasury. He had given orders for six temples to be erected in particular cities which he had named, and had fixed the expences of each of these structures at five hundred talents, which amount to five hundred thousand crowns. He had likewise ordered a pyramid to be raised over the tomb of his father Philip, which was to be finished with a grandeur and magnificence equal to that in Egypt, esteemed one of the seven wonders of the world. He had likewise planned other expences of the like kind, which were prudently revoked by the assembly.

[1] Within a short time after these proceedings, Roxana was delivered of a son, who was named Alexander, and acknowledged king, jointly with Aridæus. But neither of these princes possessed any thing more than the name of royalty, as all authority was entirely lodged in the great lords and generals, who had divided the provinces among themselves.

In Europe; Thrace and the adjacent regions were consigned to Lysimachus; and Macedonia, Epirus, and Greece, were allotted to Antipater and Craterus.

In Africa; Egypt and the other conquests of Alexander in Libya and Cyrenaica, were assigned to Ptolemy the son of Lagus, with that part of Arabia which borders on Egypt. The month of Thoth in the autumn is the epocha from whence the

[1] Diod. l. xviii. p. 587, 588. Justin. l. xiii. c. 4. Q. Curt. l. x. c. 10.

years of the empire of the Lagides in Egypt begin to be computed; though Ptolemy did not assume the title of king, in conjunction with the other successors of Alexander, till about seventeen years after this event.

In the Lesser Asia; Lycia, Pamphylia, and the greater Phrygia, were given to Antigonus; Caria, to Cassander; Lydia, to Menander; the Lesser Phrygia, to Leonatus; Armenia, to Neoptolemus; Cappadocia and Paphlagonia, to Eumenes. These two provinces had never been completely subjected by the Macedonians, and Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, continued to govern them as formerly; Alexander having advanced with so much rapidity to his other conquests, as left him no inclination to amuse himself with the entire reduction of that province, contented himself with a slight submission.

Syria and Phœnicia fell to Laomedon; one of the two Medias to Atropates, and the other to Perdiccas. Persia was assigned to Peucestes; Babylonia, to Archon; Mesopotamia, to Arcesilas; Parthia and Hyrcania, to Phrataphernes; Bactriana and Sogdiana, to Philip; the other regions were divided among generals whose names are now but little known.

Seleucus the son of Antiochus, was placed at the head of the cavalry of the allies, which was a post of great importance; and Cassander, the son of Antipater, commanded the companies of guards.

The Upper Asia, which extends almost to India, and even India also, were left in the possession of those who had been appointed governors of those countries by Alexander.

The same disposition generally prevailed in all the provinces I have already mentioned; and it is in this sense that most interpreters explain that passage in the Maccabees,[k] which declares, that Alexander, having assembled the great men of his court

[k] Maccab. l. i. c. i. ver. 6 & 7.

who had been bred up with him, divided his kingdom among them in his life-time. And indeed it was very probable, that this prince, when he saw his death approaching, and had no inclination to nominate a sole successor himself, was contented with confirming each of his officers in the governments he had formerly assigned them; which is sufficient to authorize the declaration of the Maccabees, "That he divided his kingdom amongst "them whilst he was living."

This partition was only the work of man, and its duration was but short. That Being, who reigns alone, and is the only King of ages, had decreed a different distribution. He had assigned to each his portion, and marked out its boundaries and extent, and his disposition alone was to subsist.

The partition concluded upon in the assembly was the source of various divisions and wars, as will be evident in the series of this history, each of these governors claiming the exercise of an independent and sovereign power in his particular province. [l] They however paid that veneration to the memory of Alexander, as not to assume the title of king, till all the race of that monarch, who had been placed upon the throne, were extinct.

Among the governors of the provinces I have mentioned, some distinguished themselves more than others by their reputation, merit, and cabals; and formed different parties, to which the others adhered, agreeably to their particular views, either of interest or ambition. For it is not to be imagined that the resolutions, which are formed in conjunctures of this nature, are much influenced by a devotion to the public good.

[m] Eumenes must, however, be excepted; for he undoubtedly was the most virtuous man among all the governors, and had no superior in true bravery.

[l] Justin. l. xv. c. 2.

[m] Plut. in Eumen. p. 583. Corn. Nep. in Eumen. c. 1.

He was always firm in the interest of the two kings, from a principle of true probity. He was a native of Cardia, a city of Thrace, and his birth was but obscure. Philip who had observed excellent qualities in him in his youth, kept him near his own person in the quality of secretary, and reposed great confidence in him. He was equally esteemed by Alexander, who treated him with extraordinary marks of his favour. Barsina, the first lady for whom this prince had entertained a passion in Asia, and by whom he had a son named Hercules, had a sister of the same name with her own, and the king gave her in marriage to Eumenes.* We shall see by the event that this prudent favourite conducted himself in such a manner as justly entitled him to the favour of those two princes, even after their death; and all his sentiments and actions will make it evident that a man may be a plebeian by birth, and yet very noble by disposition.

[n] I have already intimated, that Sysigambis, who had patiently supported the death of her father, husband, and son, could not survive the loss of Alexander. [o] The death of this princess was soon followed by that of the two grand-daughters, Statira, the wife of Alexander, and Drypetis the relict of Hephæstion. Roxana, who was apprehensive lest Statira should be pregnant by Alexander as well as herself, and that the birth of a prince would frustrate the measures which had been taken to secure the succession to the son she hoped to have, prevailed upon the two sisters to visit her, and secretly destroyed them in concert with Perdiccas, her only confidant in that impious proceeding.

It is now time to enter upon a detail of those actions that were performed by the successors of Alexander. I shall therefore begin with the defection of the Greeks in Upper Asia, and with the war

[n] Q. Curt. l. x. c. 5. [o] Plut. in Alex.

* Arrian assigns him another wife, l. vii. p. 278.

which Antipater had to sustain against Greece; because those transactions are most detached, and in a manner distinct, from the other events.

SECT. II. *The revolt of the Greeks in Upper Asia. The impressions occasioned by the news of Alexander's death at Athens. The expedition of Antipater into Greece. He is first defeated, and afterwards victorious. Makes himself master of Athens, and leaves a garrison there. The flight and death of Demosthenes.*

A. M. 3681. Ant. J. C. 323. THE Greeks, [p] whom Alexander had established, in the form of colonies, in the provinces of Upper Asia, continued with reluctance in those settlements, because they did not experience that delight and satisfaction with which they had flattered themselves, and had long cherished an ardent desire of returning into their own country. They had not however dared to discover their uneasiness whilst Alexander was living, but the moment they received intelligence of his death, they openly declared their intentions. They armed twenty thousand foot, all warlike and experienced soldiers, with three thousand horse; and having placed Philo at their head, they prepared for their departure, without taking counsel, or receiving orders from any but themselves, as if they had been subject to no authority, and no longer acknowledged any superior.

Perdiccas, who foresaw the consequences of such an enterprise, at a time when every thing was in motion, and when the troops, as well as their officers, breathed nothing but independence, sent Pithon to oppose them.

The merit of this officer was acknowledged by all; and he willingly charged himself with this com-

[p] Diod. l. xviii. p. 591, 592.

mission, in expectation of gaining over those Greeks, and of procuring himself some considerable establishment in Upper Asia by their means. Perdiccas, being acquainted with his design, gave a very surprising order to the Macedonians whom he sent with that general, which was to exterminate the revolters entirely. Pithon, on his arrival, brought over, by money, three thousand Greeks, who turned their backs in the battle, and were the occasion of his obtaining a complete victory. The vanquished troops surrendered, but made the preservation of their lives and liberties the condition of their submitting to the conqueror. This was exactly agreeable to Pithon's design, but he was no longer master of its execution. The Macedonians thinking it incumbent on them to accomplish the orders of Perdiccas, inhumanly slaughtered all the Greeks, without the least regard to the terms they had granted them. Pithon being thus defeated in his views, returned with his Macedonians to Perdiccas.

[q] This expedition was soon succeeded by the Grecian war. The news of Alexander's death being brought to Athens, had excited great rumours, and occasioned a joy that was almost universal. The people, who had long sustained with reluctance the yoke which the Macedonians had imposed on Greece; made liberty the subject of all their discourse: they breathed nothing but war, and abandoned themselves to all the extravagant emotions of a senseless and excessive joy. Phocion, who was a person of wisdom and moderation, and doubted the truth of the intelligence they had received, endeavoured to calm the turbulency of their minds, and to check these impetuous sallies, which rendered them incapable of counsel and sedate reflection. As the generality of the orators, notwithstanding all his remonstrances, exclaimed that the news was true, and that Alexander was certainly dead, Pho-

[q] Plut. in Phoc. p. 751, 752.

cion rose up, and expressed himself in this manner: "If he be really dead to-day, he will likewise be so "to-morrow and the next day, so that we shall "have time enough to deliberate in a calm manner, "and with greater security."

Leosthenes, who was the first that published this account at Athens, was continually haranguing the people with excessive arrogance and vanity. Phocion, who was tired with his speeches, said to him, "Young man, your discourse resembles the cy- "press, which is tall and spreading, but bears no "fruit." He gave great offence, by opposing the inclinations of the people in so strenuous a manner, and Hyperides rising up, asked him this question: "When would you advise the Athenians to make "war?"—"As soon (replied Phocion) as I see the "young men firmly resolved to observe a strict dis- "cipline; the rich disposed to contribute, accord- "ing to their abilities, to the expence of a war; and "when the orators no longer rob the public."

All the remonstrances of Phocion were ineffectual: a war was resolved upon, and a deputation agreed to be sent to all the states of Greece, to engage their accession to the league. This is the war in which all the Greeks, except the Thebans, united to maintain the liberty of their country, under the conduct of Leosthenes, against Antipater; and it was called the Lamian war, from the name of a city where the latter was defeated in the first battle.

[r] Demosthenes, who was then in exile at Megara, but who amidst his misfortunes always retained an ardent zeal for the interest of his country and the defence of the common liberty, joined himself with the Athenian ambassadors sent into Peloponnesus, and having seconded their remonstrances in a wonderful manner by the force of his eloquence, he engaged Sicyon, Argos, Corinth, and the other cities of Peloponnesus, to accede to the league.

[r] Plut. in Demosth. p. 858. Justin. l. xiii. c. 5.

The Athenians, struck with admiration at a zeal so noble and generous, immediately passed a decree to recall him from banishment. A galley with three ranks of oars was dispatched to him at Ægina; and, when he entered the port of Piræeus, all the magistrates and priests advanced out of the city, and all the citizens crowded to meet that illustrious exile, and received him with the utmost demonstrations of affection and joy, blended at the same time with an air of sorrow and repentance, for the injury they had done him. Demosthenes was sensibly affected with the extraordinary honours that were rendered him; and whilst he returned as it were in triumph to his country, amidst the acclamations of the people, he lifted up his hands towards heaven to thank the gods for so illustrious a protection, and congratulated himself on beholding a day more glorious to him, than that had proved to Alcibiades, on which he returned from his exile. For his fellow-citizens received him from the pure effect of desire and good will; whereas the reception of Alcibiades was not entirely voluntary, some compulsion being put upon their inclinations.

[a] The generality of those who were far advanced in years, were extremely apprehensive of the event of a war, which had been undertaken with too much precipitation, and without examining into the consequences with all the attention and sedateness that an enterprise of so much importance required. They were sensible also, that there was no necessity for declaring themselves so openly against the Macedonians, whose veteran troops were very formidable; and the example of Thebes, which was destroyed by the same temerity of conduct, added to their consternation. But the orators, who derived their advantages from the distraction of the public affairs, and to whom, according to the observation of Philip, war was peace, and peace war, would

[a] Diod. l. xviii. p. 594—599.

not allow the people time to deliberate maturely on the affairs proposed to their consideration, but drew them into their sentiments by a fallacious eloquence, which presented them with nothing but scenes of future conquest and triumphs.

Demosthenes and Phocion, who wanted neither zeal nor prudence, were of different sentiments on this occasion, which was no extraordinary circumstance with respect to them. It is not my province to determine which of them had reason on his side: but, in such a perplexing conjecture as this, there is nothing surprising in a contrariety of opinions, though the result of good intentions on both sides. Phocion's scheme was, perhaps, the most prudent, and that of Demosthenes the most glorious.

Be that as it may, a considerable army was raised, and a very numerous fleet fitted out. All the citizens who were under the age of forty, and capable of bearing arms, were drawn out. Of the ten tribes that composed the republic, three were left for the defence of Attica, the rest marched out with the other allies under the command of Leosthenes.

Antipater was far from being indolent during these transactions in Greece, of which he had been apprised, and he had sent to Leonatus in Phrygia, and to Craterus in Cilicia, to urge them to come to his assistance; but before the arrival of the expected succours, he marched at the head of only thirteen thousand Macedonians and six hundred horse; the frequent recruits which he had sent Alexander, having left him no more troops in all the country.

It is surprising that Antipater should attempt to give battle to the united forces of all Greece with such a handful of men; but he undoubtedly imagined, that the Greeks were no longer actuated by their ancient zeal and ardour for liberty, and that they ceased to consider it as such an inestimable advantage, as ought to inspire them with a resolution to venture their lives and fortunes for its pre-

servation. He flatered himself that they had begun to familiarize themselves with subjection: and indeed this was the disposition of the Greeks at that time; in whom appeared no longer the descendants of those who had so gallantly sustained all the efforts of the East, and fought against a million of men for the preservation of their freedom.

Antipater advanced towards Thessaly, and was followed by his fleet, which cruized along the sea-coasts. It consisted of one hundred and ten *triremes*, or galleys of three benches of oars. The Thessalians declared at first in his favour; but having afterwards changed their sentiments, they joined the Athenians, and supplied them with a strong body of horse.

As the army of the Athenians and their allies was much more numerous than that of the Macedonians, Antipater could not support the charge, and was defeated in the first battle. As he durst not hazard a second, and was in no condition to make a safe retreat into Macedonia, he shut himself up in Lamia, a small city in Thessaly, in order to wait for succours that were to be transmitted to him from Asia, and he fortified himself in that place, which was soon besieged by the Athenians.

The assault was carried on with great bravery against the town, and the resistance was equally vigorous. Leosthenes, after several attempts, despairing to carry it by force, changed the siege into a blockade, in order to conquer the place by famine. He surrounded it with a wall of circumvallation, and a very deep ditch, and by these means cut off all supplies of provision. The city soon became sensible of the growing scarcity, and the besieged began to be seriously disposed to surrender; when Leosthenes, in a sally they made upon him, received a considerable wound, which rendered it necessary for him to be carried to his tent. Upon which the command of the army was consigned to Anti-

philus, who was equally esteemed by the troops for his valour and ability.

A. M. 3682. Ant. J. C. 322. [t] Leonatus, in the mean time, was marching to the assistance of the Macedonians besieged in Lamia; and was commissioned, as well as Antigonus, by an agreement made between the generals, to establish Eumenes in Cappadocia by force of arms; but they took other measures, in consequence of some private views. Leonatus, who reposed an entire confidence in Eumenes, declared to him at parting, that the engagement to assist Antipater was a mere pretext, and that his real intention was to advance into Greece, in order to make himself master of Macedonia. He, at the same time, showed him letters from Cleopatra, the sister of Alexander, who invited him to come to Pella, and promised to espouse him. Leonatus being arrived within a little distance of Lamia, marched directly against the enemy, with twenty thousand foot and two thousand five hundred horse. Prosperity had introduced disorder into the Grecian army; several parties of soldiers drew off, and retired into their own country on various pretexts, which greatly diminished the number of the troops, who were now reduced to twenty-two thousand foot. The cavalry amounted to three thousand five hundred, two thousand of whom were Thessalians; and as they constituted the main strength of the army, so all hopes of success were founded in them; and accordingly, when the battle was fought, this body of horse had the greatest share in the victory that was obtained. They were commanded by Menon. Leonatus, covered with wounds, lost his life in the field of battle, and was conveyed into the camp by his troops. The Macedonian phalanx greatly dreaded the shock of the cavalry, and had therefore retreated to eminences, whither the Thessalians

[t] Plut. in Eumen. p. 584.

could not pursue them. The Greeks having carried off their dead, erected a trophy, and retired.

"The whole conversation at Athens turned upon the glorious exploits of Leosthenes, who survived his honours but a short time. An universal joy spread through the city, festivals were celebrated, and sacrifices offered without intermission, to testify their gratitude to the gods for all the advantages they had obtained. The enemies of Phocion, thinking to mortify him in the most sensible manner, and reduce him to an incapacity of justifying his constant opposition to that war, asked him, if he would not have rejoiced to have performed so many glorious actions? "Undoubtedly I would (replied "Phocion); but I would not at the same time "have neglected to offer the advice I gave."* He did not think that a judgment ought to be formed of any particular counsel from mere success, but rather from the nature and solidity of the counsel itself; and he did not retract his sentiments, because those of an opposite nature had been successful, which only proved the latter more fortunate, but not more judicious. And as these agreeable advices came thick upon each other, Phocion, who was apprehensive of the sequel, cried out, "When shall we cease to conquer?"

Antipater was obliged to surrender by capitulation, but history has not transmitted to us the conditions of the treaty. The event only makes it evident, that Leosthenes compelled him to surrender at discretion, and he himself died a few days after of the wounds he had received at the siege. Antipater having quitted Lamia the day after the battle, for he seems to have been favourably treated, joined the remains of the army of Leonatus, and took upon

[a] Plut. in Phoc. p. 752.

* *Non damnavit quod rectè viderat, quia, quod alius malè consulerat, bene cesserat: felicius hoc existimans, illud etiam sapientius.* VAL. MAX. lib. iii. cap. 8.

him the command of those troops. He was extremely cautious of hazarding a second battle, and kept with his troops, like a judicious and experieneed general, on eminences inaccessible to the enemy's cavalry. Antiphilus, the general of the Greeks, remained with his troops in Thessaly, and contented himself with observing the motions of Antipater.

Clitus, who commanded the Macedonian fleet, obtained, much about the same time, two victories, near the islands of Echinades, over Eetion the admiral of the Athenian navy.

[x] Craterus, who had long been expected, arrived at last in Thessaly, and halted at the river Peneus. He resigned the command to Antipater, and was contented to serve under him. The troops he had brought thither amounted, in conjunction with those of Leonatus, to above forty thousand foot, three thousand archers or slingers, and five thousand horse. The army of the allies was much inferior in number, and consisted of no more than twenty-five thousand foot and three thousand five hundred horse. Military discipline had been much neglected among them, after the victories they had obtained. A considerable battle was fought near Cranon, in which the Greeks were defeated; they, however, lost but few troops, and even that disadvantage was occasioned by the licentious conduct of the soldiers, and the small authority of the chiefs, who were incapable of enforcing obedience to their commands.

Antiphilus and Menon, the two generals of the Grecian army, assembled a council the next day, to deliberate, whether they should wait the return of those troops who had retired into their own country, or propose terms of accommodation to the enemy. The council declared in favour of the latter; upon which deputies were immediately dispatched to the

[x] Diod. l. xviii. p. 599—602.

enemy's camp in the name of all the allies. Antipater replied, that he would enter into a separate treaty with each of the cities, persuading himself that he should facilitate the accomplishment of his designs by this proceeding; and he was not deceived in his opinion. His answer broke off the negociation; and the moment he presented himself before the cities of the allies, they disbanded their troops, and surrendered up their liberties in the most pusillanimous manner, each city being solely attentive to its separate advantage.

This circumstance is a sufficient confirmation of what I have formerly observed with relation to the present disposition of the people of Greece. They were no longer animated with the noble zeal of those ancient assertors of liberty, who devoted their whole attention to the good of the public and the glory of the nation; who considered the danger of their neighbours and allies as their own, and marched with the utmost expedition to their assistance upon the first signal of their distress. Whereas now, when a formidable enemy appeared at the gates of Athens, all the republics of Greece had neither activity nor vigour; Peloponnesus continued without motion, and Sparta was as little heard of as if she had never existed: unhappy effects of the mutual jealousy which those people had conceived against each other, and of their disregard to the common liberty, in consequence of a fatal lethargy into which they were sunk amidst the greatest dangers! These are symptoms which prognosticate and prepare the way for approaching decline and ruin.

[y] Antipater improved this desertion to his own advantage, and marched immediately to Athens, which saw herself abandoned by all her allies, and consequently in no condition to defend herself against a powerful and victorious enemy. Before he entered the city, Demosthenes, and all those of his party, who

[y] Plut. in Phoc. p. 753, 754.

may be considered as the last true Greeks, and the defenders of expiring liberty, retired from that place; and the people, in order to transfer from themselves to those great men the reproach resulting from their declaration of war against Antipater, and likewise to obtain his good graces, condemned them to die by a decree which Demades prepared. The reader has not forgot, that these are the same people who had lately recalled Demosthenes by a decree so much for his honour, and had received him in triumph.

The same Demades procured a second decree for sending ambassadors to Antipater, who was then at Thebes, and that they should be invested with full powers to negociate a treaty of peace with him. Phocion himself was at their head; and the conqueror declared, that he expected the Athenians should entirely submit the terms to his regulation, in the manner as he himself had acted, when he was besieged in the city of Lamia, and had conformed to the capitulation imposed upon him by Leosthenes their general.

Phocion returned to acquaint the Athenians with this answer, and they were compelled to acquiesce in the conditions, however rigid they might appear. He then came back to Thebes with the rest of the ambassadors, with whom Xenocrates had been associated, in hopes that the appearance alone of so celebrated a philosopher would inspire Antipater with respect, and induce him to pay homage to his virtue. But surely they must have been little acquainted with the heart of man, and particularly with the violent and inhuman disposition of Antipater, to be capable of flattering themselves, that an enemy, with whom they had been engaged in an open war, would renounce his advantage through any inducement of respect for the virtue of a single man, or in consequence of an harangue uttered by a philosopher, who had declared against him. Antipater would not even condescend to cast his eyes

upon him; and when he was preparing to enter upon the conference, for he was commissioned to be the speaker on this occasion, he interrupted him in a very abrupt manner; and perceiving that he continued his discourse, commanded him to be silent. But he did not treat Phocion in the same manner; for after he had attended to his discourse, he replied, "That he was disposed to con- "tract a friendship and alliance with the Athe- "nians on the following conditions: They should "deliver up Demosthenes and Hyperides to him; "the government should be restored to its ancient "plan, by which all employments in the state were "to be conferred upon the rich; that they should "receive a garrison in the port of Munychia; that "they should defray all the expences of the war, "and also pay a large sum, the amount of which "should be settled." Thus, according to Diodorus, none but those whose yearly income exceeded two thousand drachmas, were to be admitted into any share of the government for the future, or to have any right to vote. Antipater intended to make himself absolute master of Athens by this regulation, being very sensible that the rich men, who enjoyed public employments, and had large revenues, would become his dependents much more effectually than a poor and despicable populace, who had nothing to lose, and who would be only guided by their own caprice.

All the ambassadors but Xenocrates were well contented with these conditions, which they thought were very moderate, considering their present situation; but that philosopher judged otherwise. "They are very moderate for slaves," said he, "but extremely severe for free men."

The Athenians therefore were compelled to receive into Munychia a Macedonian garrison, commanded by Menyllus, a man of probity, and one of Phocion's particular friends. The troops took possession of the place during the festival of the Great Mysteries,

and the very day on which it was usual to carry the god Iacchus in procession from the city to Eleusis. This was a melancholy conjuncture for the Athenians, and affected them with the most sensible affliction. "Alas! (said they, when they compared the "past times with those they then saw) the gods, "amidst our greatest adversities, would formerly "manifest themselves in our favour during this "sacred ceremonial, by mystic visions and audible "voices to the great astonishment of our enemies, "who were terrified by them. But now, when we "are even celebrating the same solemnities, they "cast an unpitying eye on the greatest calamities "that can happen to Greece: they behold the most "sacred of all days in the year, and that which is "most agreeable to us, polluted and distinguished "by the most dreadful of calamities, which will "even transmit its name to this sacred season "through all succeeding generations."

The garrison, commanded by Menyllus, did not offer the least injury to any of the inhabitants; but there were more than twelve thousand of them excluded from employments in the state, by one of the stipulations in the treaty, in consequence of their poverty. Some of these unfortunate persons continued in Athens, and lingered out a wretched life, amidst the contempt and insults they had justly drawn upon themselves; for the generality of them were seditious and mercenary in their dispositions, had neither virtue nor justice, but flattered themselves with a false idea of liberty, which they were incapable of using aright, and had no knowledge of either its bounds, duties, or end. The other poor citizens departed from the city, in order to avoid that opprobrious condition, and retired into Thrace, where Antipater assigned them a city and lands for their habitation.

[z] Demetrius Phalereus was obliged to have re-

[z] Athen. l. xii. p. 542.

course to flight, and retired to Nicanor; in whom Cassander, the son of Antipater, reposed much confidence, and made him governor of Munychia after the death of his father, as will appear immediately. This Demetrius had been not only the disciple, but the intimate friend of the celebrated Theophrastus; and, under the conduct of so learned a master, had perfected his natural genius for eloquence, and rendered himself expert in philosophy, politics, and history. [a] He was in great esteem at Athens, and began to enter upon the administration of affairs, when Harpalus arrived there, after he had declared against Alexander. He was obliged to quit that city at the time of which we are now speaking, and was soon after condemned there, though absent, under a vain pretext of irreligion.

[b] The whole weight of Antipater's displeasure fell chiefly upon Demosthenes, Hyperides, and some other Athenians, who had been their adherents; and when he was informed that they had eluded his vengeance by flight, he dispatched a body of men with orders to seize them, and placed one Archias at their head, who had formerly played in tragedies. This man having found at Ægina the orator Hyperides, Aristonicus of Marathon, and Himereus the brother of Demetrius Phalereus, who had all three taken sanctuary in the temple of Ajax; he dragged them from their asylum, and sent them to Antipater, who was then at Cleonæ, where he condemned them to die. Some authors have even declared, that he caused the tongue of Hyperides to be cut out.

The same Archias having received intelligence, that Demosthenes, who had retired into the island of Calauria, was become a supplicant in the temple of Neptune, he sailed thither in a small vessel, and landed with some Thracian soldiers: after which he

[a] Diog. Laert. in Demetr.
[b] Plut. in Demost. p. 859, 860.

spared no pains to persuade Demosthenes to accompany him to Antipater, assuring him, that he should receive no injury. Demosthenes was too well acquainted with mankind to rely on his promise; and was sensible that those venal souls, who have hired themselves into the service of iniquity, those infamous ministers in the execution of orders equally cruel and unjust, have as little regard to sincerity and truth as their masters. To prevent therefore his falling into the hands of a tyrant, who would have satiated his fury upon him, he swallowed poison, which he always carried about him, and which soon produced its effect. When he found his strength declining, he advanced a few steps, by the aid of some domestics who supported him, and fell down dead at the foot of the altar.

The Athenians, soon after this event, erected a statue of brass to his memory, as a testimonial of their gratitude and esteem, and made a decree, that the eldest branch of his family should be brought up in the Prytaneum, at the public expence, from generation to generation: and at the foot of the statue they engraved this inscription, which was couched in two elegiac verses: "Demosthenes, "if thy power had been equal to thy wisdom, the "Macedonian Mars would never have triumphed "over Greece." What regard is to be entertained for the judgment of a people, who are capable of being hurried into such opposite extremes, and who one day passed sentence of death on a citizen, and loaded him with honours and applause the next?

What I have already said of Demosthenes, on several occasions, makes it unnecessary to enlarge upon his character in this place. He was not only a great orator, but an accomplished statesman. His views were noble and exalted; his zeal for the honour and interest of his country was superior to every temptation; he firmly retained an irreconcileable aversion to all measures which had any resemblance to tyranny; and his love for liberty was

such as may be imagined in a republican, as implacable an enemy to all servitude and dependency as ever lived. A wonderful sagacity of mind enabled him to penetrate into future events, and presented them to his view with as much perspicuity, though remote, as if they had been actually present. He seemed as much acquainted with all the designs of Philip, as if he had been admitted into a participation of his counsels; and if the Athenians had followed his advice, that prince would not have attained that height of power which proved destructive to Greece, as Demosthenes had frequently foretold.

[c] He was perfectly acquainted with the disposition of Philip, and was very far from praising him, like the generality of orators. Two colleagues, with whom he had been associated in an embassy to that great prince, were continually praising the king of Macedonia, at their return, and saying, that he was a very eloquent and handsome prince, and a most extraordinary drinker. "What strange commen-"dations are these?" replied Demosthenes. "The "first is the accomplishment of a rhetorician; the "second of a woman; and the third of a sponge; "but none of them the qualification of a king."

With relation to eloquence, nothing can be added to what Quintilian has observed, in the parallel he has drawn between Demosthenes and Cicero. After having shown, that the great and essential qualities of an orator are common to them both, he marks out the particular difference observable between them with respect to style and elocution. "The "one* (says he) is more precise, the other more "luxuriant. The one crowds all his forces into a "smaller compass when he attacks his adversary,

[c] Plut. in Demost. p. 853.

* *In eloquendo est aliqua diversitas. Densior ille, hic copiosior. Ille concludit astrictius, hic latius pugnat. Ille acumine semper, hic frequenter et pondere. Illi nihil detrahi potest, huic nihil adjici. Curæ plus in illo, in hoc naturæ.* QUINTIL. l. x. c. i.

"the other chooses a larger field for the assault. "The one always endeavours in a manner to trans- "fix him with the vivacity of his style, the other "frequently overwhelms him with the weight of his "discourse. Nothing can be retrenched from the "one, and nothing can be added to the other. In "Demosthenes we discover more labour and study, "in Cicero more nature and genius."

[4] I have elsewhere observed another mark of difference between these two great orators, which I beg leave to insert in this place. That which characterizes Demosthenes more than any other circumstance, and in which he has never been imitated, is such an absolute oblivion of himself, and so scrupulous and constant a solicitude to suppress all ostentation of wit; in a word, such a perpetual care to confine the attention of the auditor to the cause, and not to the orator, that he never suffers any one turn of thought or expression to escape him, which has no other view than merely to please and shine. This reserve and moderation in so fine a genius as Demosthenes, and in matters so susceptible of grace and elegance, adds perfection to his merit, and renders him superior to all praises.

Cicero was sensible of all the estimation due to the eloquence of Demosthenes, and experienced all its force and beauty. But as he was persuaded, that an orator, when he is engaged in any points that are not strictly essential, ought to form his style by the taste of his audience: and did not believe that the genius of his times was consistent with such a rigid exactness; he therefore judged it necessary to accommodate himself in some measure to the ears and delicacy of his auditors, who required more grace and elegance in an oration. For which reason, though he never lost sight of any important point in the cause he pleaded, he yet paid some attention to what might captivate and please

[4] In the discourse on the eloquence of the bar.

the ear. He even thought that this was conducive to promote the interest of his client; and he was not mistaken, as to please is one of the most certain means of persuading: but at the same time he laboured for his own reputation, and never forgot himself.

The death of Demosthenes and Hyperides caused the Athenians to regret the reign of Philip and Alexander, and recalled to their remembrance the magnanimity, generosity, and clemency, which those two princes retained, even amidst the emotions of their displeasure; and how inclinable they had always been to pardon offences, and treat their enemies with humanity. Whereas Antipater, under the mask of a private man, in a shabby cloak, with all the appearance of a plain and frugal life, and without affecting any title of authority, discovered himself to be a rigid and imperious master.

Antipater was, however, prevailed upon, by the prayers of Phocion, to recall several persons from banishment, notwithstanding all the severity of his disposition; and there is reason to believe, that Demetrius was one of this number. At least, it is certain that he had a considerable share in the administration of the republic from that time. As for those whose recall to Athens Phocion was unable to obtain, he procured for them more commodious situations, that were not so remote as their former settlements; and took his measures so effectually, that they were not banished, according to the first sentence, beyond the Ceraunian mountains and the promontory of Tænarus; nor lived sequestered from the pleasures of Greece, but obtained a settlement in Peloponnesus. Who can help admiring, on the one hand, the amiable and generous disposition of Phocion, who employed his credit with Antipater, in order to procure for the unfortunate some alleviation of their calamities; and, on the other hand, a kind of humanity in a prince, who was not very desirous of distinguishing himself by that quality,

but was sensible, however, that it would be extremely rigid in him to add new mortifications to the inconveniences of banishment.

Antipater in other respects exercised his government with great justice and moderation over those who continued in Athens; he bestowed the principal posts and employments on such persons as he imagined were the most virtuous and honest men: and contented himself with removing from all authority, such as he thought were most likely to excite troubles. He was sensible, that this people could neither support a state of absolute servitude, nor of entire liberty; for which reason he thought it necessary to take from the one, whatever was too rigid; and from the other, all that was excessive and licentious.

The conqueror after so glorious a campaign, set out for Macedonia, to celebrate the nuptials of his daughter Phila with Craterus, and the solemnity was performed with all imaginable grandeur. Phila was one of the most accomplished princesses of her age, and her beauty was the least part of her merit. The lustre of her charms was heightened by the sweetness and modesty that beamed upon her countenance, and by an air of complacency, and a natural disposition to oblige, which won the hearts of all who beheld her. These engaging qualities were rendered still more amiable by the brightness of a superior genius, and a prudence uncommon in her sex, which made her capable of the greatest affairs. It is even said, that young as she then was, her father Antipater, who was one of the most able politicians of his age, never engaged in any affair of importance without consulting her. This princess never made use of the influence she had over her two husbands (for after the death of Craterus she espoused Demetrius the son of Antigonus) but to procure some favour for the officers, their daughters, or sisters. If they were poor, she furnished them with portions for their marriage: and if they were so unhappy as to

be calumniated, she herself was very active in their justification. So generous a liberality gave her an absolute power among the troops. All cabals were dissolved by her presence, and all revolts gave way, and were appeased by her engaging conduct.

SECT. III. *Procession at the funeral of Alexander. His body is conveyed to Alexandria. Eumenes is put into possession of Cappadocia by Perdiccas. Ptolemy, Craterus, Antipater, and Antigonus, form a confederacy against each of them. The death of Craterus. The unfortunate expedition of Perdiccas into Egypt. He is slain there.*

[c] MUCH about this time * the funeral obsequies of Alexander were performed. Aridæus having been deputed by all the governors and grandees of the kingdom to take upon himself the care of that solemnity, had employed two years in preparing every thing that could possibly render it the most pompous and splendid funeral that had ever been seen. When all things were ready for the celebration of this mournful but superb ceremonial, orders were given for the procession to begin. This was preceded by a great number of pioneers and other workmen, whose office was to make all the ways practicable through which the procession was to pass. A. M 3683. Ant. J. C. 321.

As soon as these were levelled, that magnificent chariot, the invention and design of which raised as much admiration as the immense riches that glittered all over it, set out from Babylon. The body

[c] Diod. l. xviii. p. 608—610.

* I could have wished it had been in my power to have explained several passages of this description in a more clear and intelligible manner than I have done: but that was not possible for me to effect, though I had recourse to persons of greater capacity than myself.

of the chariot rested upon two axletrees, that were inserted into four wheels, made after the Persian manner; the naves and spokes of which were covered with gold, and the fellies plated over with iron. The extremities of the axletrees were made of gold, representing the muzzles of lions biting a dart. The chariot had four poles, to each of which were harnessed four sets of mules, each set consisting of four of those animals; so that this chariot was drawn by sixty-four mules. The strongest of those creatures, and the largest, were chosen on this occasion. They were adorned with crowns of gold, and collars enriched with precious stones and golden bells.

On this chariot was erected a pavilion of entire gold, twelve feet wide and eighteen in length, supported by columns of the Ionic order, embellished with the leaves of acanthus. The inside was adorned with jewels, disposed in the forms of shells. The circumference was beautified with a fringe of golden net-work; the threads that composed the texture were an inch in thickness, and to those were fastened large bells, whose sound was heard to a great distance.

The external decorations consisted of four groups in basso relievo.

The first represented Alexander seated in a military chariot, with a splendid sceptre in his hand, and surrounded on one side with a troop of Macedonians in arms; and the other, with an equal number of Persians armed in their own manner. These were preceded by the king's equerries.

In the second were seen elephants completely harnessed, with a band of Indians seated on the fore-part of their bodies; and on their hinder another band of Macedonians, armed as in the day of battle.

The third exhibited to the view several squadrons of horse ranged in military array.

The fourth represented ships preparing for a battle.

At the entrance into the pavilion were golden lions, that seemed to guard the passage.

The four corners were adorned with statues of massy gold, representing victories, with trophies of arms in their hands.

Under the pavilion was placed a throne of gold of a square form, adorned with the heads of animals,* whose necks were encompassed with circlets of gold a foot and a half in breadth; to these were hung crowns, that glittered with the liveliest colours, such as were carried in procession at the celebration of sacred solemnities.

At the foot of the throne was placed the coffin of Alexander, formed of beaten gold, and half filled with aromatic spices and perfumes, as well to exhale an agreeable odour, as for the preservation of the corpse. A pall of purple brocaded with gold covered the coffin.

Between this and the throne, the arms of that monarch were disposed in the manner he wore them when living.

The outside of the pavilion was likewise covered with purple flowered with gold. The top ended in a very large crown of the same metal, which seemed to be a composition of olive-branches. The beams of the sun which darted on this diadem, in conjunction with the motion of the chariot, caused it to emit a kind of rays like those of lightning.

It may easily be imagined, that in so long a procession, the motion of a chariot, laden like this, would be liable to great inconveniences. In order, therefore, that the pavilion, with all its appendages, might, when the chariot moved in any uneven ways, constantly continue in the same situation, notwithstanding the inequality of the ground, and the

* The Greek word τραγέλαφος imports a kind of hart, from whose chin a beard hangs down like that of goats.

shocks that would frequently be unavoidable, a cylinder was raised from the middle of each axle-tree, to support the pavilion; by which expedient the whole machine was preserved steady.

The chariot was followed by the royal guards, all in arms, and magnificently arrayed.

The multitude of spectators in this solemnity is hardly credible; but they were drawn together as well by their veneration for the memory of Alexander, as by the magnificence of this funeral pomp, which had never been equalled in the world.

There was a current prediction, that the place where Alexander should be interred would be rendered the most happy and flourishing part of the whole earth. The governors contested with each other for the disposal of a body that was to be attended with such a glorious prerogative. The affection Perdiccas entertained for his country, made him desirous that the corpse should be conveyed to Ægæ in Macedonia, where the remains of its kings were usually deposited. Other places were likewise proposed, but the preference was given to Egypt. Ptolemy, who had such extraordinary and recent obligations to the king of Macedonia, was determined to signalize his gratitude on this occasion. He accordingly set out, with a numerous guard of his best troops, in order to meet the procession, and advanced as far as Syria. When he had joined the attendants on the funeral, he prevented them from interring the corpse in the temple of Jupiter Ammon, as they had proposed. It was therefore deposited first in the city of Memphis, and from thence was conveyed to Alexandria. Ptolemy raised a magnificent temple to the memory of this monarch, and rendered him all the honours which were usually paid to demi-gods and heroes by pagan antiquity.

[f] Freinshemius, in his supplement to Livy, relates,

[f] Lib. cxxxiii.

after Leo,* the African, that the tomb of Alexander the Great was still to be seen in his time, and that it was reverenced by the Mahomedans as the monument not only of an illustrious king, but of a great prophet.

[g] In the partition of the several governments of Alexander's empire, Cappadocia and Paphlagonia, which border on the Pontic sea, were allotted to Eumenes; and it was expressly stipulated by the treaty, that Leonatus and Antigonus should march with a great body of troops to establish Eumenes in the government of those dominions, and dispossess king Ariarathes of the sovereignty. This general resolution of sending troops and experienced commanders into the several provinces of the empire, was formed with great judgment; and the intention of it was, that all those conquered territories should continue under the dominion of the Macedonians, and that the inhabitants, being no longer governed by their own sovereigns, should have no future inclination to recover their former liberty, nor be in a condition to set each other the example of throwing off the new yoke of the Greeks.

But neither Leonatus nor Antigonus were very solicitous to execute this article of the treaty; and, as they were entirely attentive to their own particular interest and aggrandizement, they took other measures. Eumenes seeing himself thus abandoned by those who ought to have established him in his government, set out with all his equipage, which consisted of three hundred horse and two hundred of his domestics well armed; with all his riches, which amounted to about five thousand talents of gold; and retired to Perdiccas, who gave him a favourable reception. As he was much esteemed by that commander, he was admitted into a parti-

[g] Plut in Eumen. p. 584. Diod. l. xviii. p. 599.

* This author lived in the 15th century.

cipation of all his councils. Eumenes was indeed a man of great firmness and resolution, and the most able of all the captains of Alexander.

Within a short time after this event, he was conducted into Cappadocia by a great army which Perdiccas thought fit to command in person. Ariarathes had made the necessary preparations for a vigorous defence, and had raised thirty thousand foot and a great body of horse; but he was defeated and taken prisoner by Perdiccas, who destroyed his whole family, and invested Eumenes with the government of his dominions. He intended, by this instance of severity, to intimidate the people, and extinguish all seditions; a mode of conduct very judicious, and absolutely necessary in the conjuncture of a new government, when the state is in a general ferment, and all things are usually disposed for commotions. Perdiccas, after this transaction, advanced with his troops to chastise Isaura and Laranda, cities of Pisidia, which had massacred their governors, and revolted from the Macedonians. The last of these cities was destroyed in a very surprising manner; for the inhabitants finding themselves in no condition to defend it, and despairing of any quarter from the conqueror, shut themselves up in their houses, with their wives, children, and parents, and all their gold and silver; set fire to their several habitations, and, after they had fought with the fury of lions, threw themselves into the flames. The city was abandoned to plunder; and the soldiers, after they had extinguished the fire, found a very great booty, for the place was filled with riches.

[b] Perdiccas, after this expedition, marched into Cilicia, where he passed the winter. During his residence in that country, he formed a resolution to divorce Nicæa, the daughter of Antipater, whom he had espoused at a time when he thought that

[b] Diod. p. 606—609.

marriage subservient to his interest. But when the regency of the empire had given him a superior credit, and caused him to conceive more exalted hopes, his thoughts took a different turn, and he was desirous of espousing Cleopatra, the sister of Alexander the Great. She had been married to Alexander king of Epirus; and, having lost her husband in the wars of Italy, she had continued in a state of widowhood, and was then at Sardis in Lydia. Perdiccas dispatched Eumenes thither, to make proposals of marriage to that princess, and endeavour to render him agreeable to her. This alliance with a lady who was the sister of Alexander by the same father and mother, and exceedingly beloved by the Macedonians, opened him a way to the empire through the favour of that people, which he might naturally expect from his marriage with Cleopatra.

Antigonus penetrated into his design, and evidently foresaw that his own destruction was to be the foundation of the intended success. He, therefore, passed into Greece with the greatest expedition, in order to find Antipater and Craterus, who were then engaged in a war with the Ætolians, and disclosed to them the whole plan that Perdiccas had formed. Upon this intelligence they immediately came to an accommodation with the Ætolians, and advanced towards the Hellespont, to observe the motions of the new enemy; and in order to strengthen their own party, they engaged Ptolemy, governor of Egypt, in their interest.

Craterus, one of the greatest of Alexander's captains, had the largest share of the affection and esteem of the Macedonians. Alexander, a little before his death, had ordered him to conduct into Macedonia the ten thousand veteran troops he intended to send thither, on account of their age, wounds, or other infirmities, which rendered them incapable of the service. The king had likewise conferred upon him at the same time the government of Macedonia in the room of Antipater, whom

he recalled to Babylon. Greece, Macedonia, and Epirus, having been consigned to Craterus and Antipater after the death of Alexander, they governed them in concert, and Craterus always conducted himself like a good and faithful associate; especially in the operations of this war; in which they were unavoidably engaged by the discovery of the designs Perdiccas was forming.

Perdiccas sent Eumenes back to his province, not only to regulate the state of affairs in that country, but more particularly to keep a watchful eye on the motions of Neoptolemus his next neighbour, who was governor of Armenia; and whose conduct was suspected by Perdiccas, not without sufficient reason, as will be evident in the sequel.

[i] This Neoptolemus was a man remarkable for his stupid pride, and the insupportable arrogance he had contracted, from the vain hopes with which he fed his imagination. Eumenes endeavoured to retain him in his duty by reason and gentle measures; and when he saw that the troops of the Macedonian phalanx, who were commanded by Neoptolemus, were grown very insolent and audacious, he made it his care to assemble a body of horse strong enough to oppose their designs, and keep them within the bounds of respect and obedience. With this view, he granted all sorts of immunities and exemptions from imposts, to those of the inhabitants who were in a condition to appear on horseback. He likewise purchased a great number of horses, and bestowed them on those of his court in whom he confided the most; and inflamed their courage by the honours and rewards he conferred upon them. He disciplined and habituated them to labour and fatigue by reviews, exercises, and continual movements. Every body was surprised to see him assemble, in so short a time, a body of six thousand horse, capable of good service in the field.

[i] Plut. in Eumen. p. 585.

Perdiccas, having caused all his troops to file off the next spring towards Cappadocia, held a council with his friends on the operations of the intended war. The subject of their deliberations was, whether they should march first into Macedonia against Antipater and Craterus, or into Egypt against Ptolemy. The majority of voices declared in favour of the last; and it was concluded, at the same time, that Eumenes, with part of the army, should guard the Asiatic provinces against Antipater and Craterus; and, in order to engage him more effectually to espouse the common cause, Perdiccas added the provinces of Caria, Lycia, and Phrygia, to his government. He likewise declared him generalissimo of all the troops in Cappadocia and Armenia, and ordered all the governors to obey him. Perdiccas after this advanced towards Egypt through Damascus and Palestine. He also took the two minor kings with him in this expedition, in order to cover his designs with the royal authority. A. M. 3683. Ant. J. C. 321.

[k] Eumenes spared no pains to have a good army on foot, in order to oppose Antipater and Craterus, who had already passed the Hellespont, and were marching against him. They left nothing unattempted to disengage him from the party he had espoused, and promised him the addition of new provinces to those he already possessed: but he was too steady * to be shaken by those offers, in breach of his engagements to Perdiccas. They succeeded better with Alcetas and Neoptolemus, for they engaged the former, though the brother of Perdiccas, to observe a neutrality, and the other declared in their favour. Eumenes attacked and defeated the latter at a narrow pass, and even took all his baggage. This victory was owing to his cavalry, whom he had formed with so much care. Neoptolemus

[k] Plut. in Eumen. p. 585—587. Diod. l. xviii. p. 610—613.

* *Quem (Perdiccam) etsi infirmum videbat, quòd unus omnibus resistere cogebatur, amicum non deseruit, neque salutis quàm fidei fuit cupidior.* Cor. Nep. in Eum. c. iii.

escaped with three hundred horse, and joined Antipater and Craterus; but the rest of his troops went over to Eumenes.

Antipater entered Cilicia with an intention to advance into Egypt, in order to assist Ptolemy, if his affairs should require his aid; and he detached Craterus and Neoptolemus with the rest of his army against Eumenes, who was then in Cappadocia. A great battle was fought there, the success of which is entirely to be ascribed to the wise and vigilant precaution of Eumenes, which Plutarch justly considers as the master-piece of a great commander. The reputation of Craterus was very great, and the generality of the Macedonians were desirous of having him for their leader after the death of Alexander, remembering that his affection for them, and his desire to support their interest, had caused him to incur the displeasure of that prince. Neoptolemus had flattered him, that as soon as he should appear in the field, all the Macedonians of the opposite party would list themselves under his banners; and Eumenes himself was very apprehensive of that event. But in order to avoid this misfortune, which would have occasioned his inevitable ruin, he caused the avenues and narrow passes to be so carefully guarded, that his army were entirely ignorant of the enemy against whom he was leading them, as he had caused a report to be spread, that it was only Neoptolemus, who was preparing to attack him a second time. In the dispositions he made for the battle, he was careful not to oppose any Macedonian against Craterus; and issued an order, with very severe penalties, that no herald from the enemy should be received on any account whatever.

The first charge was very violent; the lances were soon shivered on both sides, and the two armies attacked sword in hand. Craterus did not behave unworthy of his master Alexander on this last day of his life, for he killed several of the enemy with his

own hand, and frequently bore down all who opposed him; till, at last, a Thracian wounded him in the side, when he fell from his horse. All the enemy's cavalry rode over him without knowing who he was, and did not discover him till he was breathing his last.

As to the other wing, Neoptolemus and Eumenes, who personally hated each other, having met in the battle, and their horses charging with a violent shock, they seized each other; and their horses springing from under them, they both fell on the earth, where they struggled like two implacable wrestlers, and fought for a considerable time with the utmost fury and rage, till at last Neoptolemus received a mortal wound, and immediately expired.

Eumenes then remounted his horse, and pushed on to his left wing, where he believed the enemy's troops still continued unbroken. There, when he was informed that Craterus was killed, he spurred his horse to the place where he lay, and found him expiring. When he beheld this melancholy spectacle, he could not refuse his tears to the death of an ancient friend whom he had always esteemed; and he caused the last honours to be paid him with all possible magnificence. He likewise ordered his bones to be conveyed to Macedonia, in order to be given to his wife and children. Eumenes gained this second victory ten days after the first.

[1] In the mean time Perdiccas had advanced into Egypt, and began the war with Ptolemy, though with very different success. Ptolemy, from the time he was constituted governor of that country, had conducted himself with so much justice and humanity, that he entirely gained the hearts of all the Egyptians. An infinite number of people, charmed with the lenity of so wise an administration, came thither from Greece and other parts to

[1] Diod. l. xviii. p. 613—616. Plut. in Eumen. p. 567. Cor. Nep. c. v.

enter into his service. This additional advantage rendered him extremely powerful; and even the army of Perdiccas had so much esteem for Ptolemy, that they marched with reluctance against him, and great numbers of them deserted daily to his troops. All these circumstances were fatal to the views of Perdiccas, and he lost his life in that country. Having unfortunately taken a resolution to make his army pass an arm of the Nile, which formed an island near Memphis, in passing he lost two thousand men, half of whom were drowned, and the remainder devoured by crocodiles. The Macedonians were exasperated to such a degree of fury, when they saw themselves exposed to such unnecessary dangers, that they mutinied against him; in consequence of which he was abandoned by a hundred of his principal officers, of whom Pithon was the most considerable, and was assassinated in his tent with most of his intimate friends.

Two days after this event the army received intelligence of the victory obtained by Eumenes; and had this account come two days sooner, it would certainly have prevented the mutiny, and consequently the revolution that soon succeeded it, which proved so favourable to Ptolemy and Antipater, and all their adherents.

SECT. IV. *The regency is transferred to Antipater. Eumenes besieged by Antigonus in Nora. Jerusalem besieged and taken by Ptolemy. Demades put to death by Cassander. Antipater on his death-bed nominates Polysperchon for his successor to the regency. The latter recalls Olympias. Antigonus becomes very powerful.*

[m] PTOLEMY passed the Nile the day after the death of Perdiccas, and entered the Macedonian camp; where he justified his own conduct so effectually, that all the troops declared in his favour. When the death of Craterus was known, he so ably took advantage of their affliction and resentment, that he induced them to pass a decree, whereby Eumenes, and fifty other persons of the same party, were declared enemies to the Macedonian state, and this decree authorized Antipater and Antigonus to carry on a war against them. Although this prince perceived the troops had a general inclination to offer him the regency, which was become vacant by the death of Perdiccas, he had the precaution to decline that office, because he was very sensible that the royal pupils had a title without a reality; that they would never be capable of sustaining the weight of that vast empire, nor be in a condition to re-unite, under their authority, so many governments accustomed to independency; that there was an inevitable tendency to dismember the whole, as well from the inclinations and interest of the officers, as the situation of affairs; that all his acquisitions in the interim would redound to the advantage of his pupils; that while he appeared to possess the first rank, he should in reality enjoy nothing fixed and solid, or that could

[m] Diod. l. xviii. p. 616—619.

any way be considered as his own property; that, upon the expiration of the regency, he should be left without any government or real establishment, and that he should neither be master of an army to support him, nor of any retreat for his preservation: whereas all his colleagues would enjoy the richest provinces in perfect tranquillity, and he be the only one who had not derived any advantages from the common conquests. These considerations induced him to prefer the post he already enjoyed to the new title that was offered him, as the former was less hazardous, and rendered him less obnoxious to envy: he therefore caused the choice to fall on Pithon and Aridæus.

The first of these persons had commanded with distinction in all the wars of Alexander, and had embraced the party of Perdiccas, till he was a witness of his imprudent conduct in passing the Nile, which induced him to quit his service, and go over to Ptolemy.

With respect to Aridæus, history has taken no notice of him before the death of Alexander, when the funeral solemnities of that prince were committed to his care; and we have already seen in what manner he acquitted himself of that melancholy but honourable commission, after he had employed two years in the preparations for it.

The honour of this guardianship did not long continue with them. Eurydice, the consort of king Aridæus, whom we shall distinguish for the future by the name of Philip, being fond of interfering in all affairs, and being supported in her pretensions by the Macedonians; the two regents were so dissatisfied with their employment, that they voluntarily resigned it, after they had conducted the army back to Triparadis in Syria; and it was then conferred upon Antipater.

As soon as he was invested with his authority, he made a new partition of the provinces of the empire, in which he excluded all those who had espoused

the interest of Perdiccas and Eumenes, and re-established every person of the other party, who had been dispossessed. In this new division of the empire, Seleucus, who had great authority from the command of the cavalry, as we have already intimated, had the government of Babylon, and became afterwards the most powerful of all the successors of Alexander. Pithon had the government of Media; but Atropates, who at that time enjoyed the government of that province, supported himself in one part of the country, and assumed the regal dignity, without acknowledging the authority of the Macedonians; and this tract of Media was afterwards called Media Atropatena. Antipater, after this regulation of affairs, sent Antigonus against Eumenes, and then returned into Macedonia; but left his son Cassander behind him, in quality of general of the cavalry, with orders to be near the person of Antigonus, that he might the better be informed of his designs.

[n] Jaddus, the high-priest of the Jews, died this year, and was succeeded by his son Onias, whose pontificate continued for the space of twenty-one years. I make this remark, because the history of the Jews will, in the sequel of this work, be very much intermixed with that of Alexander's successors. A. M. 3683. Ant. J. C. 321.

[o] Antigonus appeared early in the field against Eumenes; and a battle was fought at Orcynium in Cappadocia, wherein Eumenes was defeated, and lost eight thousand men by the treachery of Apollonides, one of the principal officers of his cavalry; who was corrupted by Antigonus, and marched over to the enemy in the midst of the battle. [p] The traitor was soon punished for his perfidy, for Eumenes took him, and caused him to be hanged upon the spot. A. M. 3684. Ant. J. C. 320.

[n] Joseph. Antiq. l. xi. c. 8. [o] Diod. l. xviii. p. 619, 621.
[p] Plut. in Eumen. p. 588—590.

[q]A conjuncture which happened soon after this defeat, would have enabled Eumenes to seize the baggage of Antigonus and all his riches, with a great number of prisoners; and his little troop already cast an eager eye on so considerable a booty. But whether his apprehensions that so rich a prey would enervate the courage of his soldiers, who were then constrained to wander from place to place; or whether his regard for Antigonus, with whom he had formerly contracted a particular friendship, prevented him from improving this opportunity; it is certain, that he sent privately a letter to that commander, to inform him of the danger that threatened him; and when he afterwards made a feint to attack the baggage, it was all removed to a place of better security.

Eumenes, after his overthrow, was obliged, for his preservation, to employ most of his time in changing the place of his retreat; and he was highly admired for the tranquillity and steadiness of mind he discovered in the wandering life to which he was reduced; for, as Plutarch observes, adversity alone can place greatness of soul in its full light, and render the real merit of men conspicuous; whereas prosperity frequently casts a veil of false grandeur over real meanness and imperfections. Eumenes, having at last disbanded most of his remaining troops, shut himself up with five hundred men, who were determined to share his fate, in the castle of Nora, a place of extraordinary strength on the frontiers of Cappadocia and Lycaonia, where he sustained a siege of twelve months.

He was soon sensible that nothing incommoded his garrison so much as the small space they possessed, being shut up in little close houses, and on a tract of ground whose whole circuit did not exceed two hundred fathoms; where they could neither walk nor perform the least exercise, and where their

[q] Cor. Nep. in Eum. c. v.

horses, having scarce any room for motion, became sluggish and incapable of service. To remedy this inconvenience, he had recourse to the following expedient. He converted the largest house in the place, the extent of which did not exceed twenty-one feet, into a kind of hall for exercise. This he consigned to the men, and ordered them to walk in it very gently at first; they were afterwards to quicken their pace by degrees, and at last were to exert the most vigorous motions. The horses he suspended, one after another, in strong slings, which were disposed under their breasts, and from thence inserted into rings fastened to the roofs of the stable; after which he caused them to be raised into the air by the aid of pulleys, in such a manner, that only their hinder feet rested on the ground, while the hoofs of their fore feet could hardly touch it. In this condition the grooms lashed them severely with their whips, which made the horses bound to such a degree, and struggle so violently to set their fore feet on the ground, that their bodies were all covered with sweat and foam. After this exercise, which was finely calculated to strengthen and keep them in wind, and likewise to render their limbs supple and pliant; their barley was given to them very clean, and winnowed from all the chaff, that they might eat it the sooner, and with less difficulty. The abilities of a good general extend to every thing about him, and are seen in the minutest particulars.

The siege, or more properly the blockade of Nora, did not prevent Antigonus from undertaking a new expedition into Pisidia, against Alcetas and Attalus; the last of whom was taken prisoner in a battle, and the other slain by treachery in the place to which he had retired. A. M. 3685. Ant. J. C. 319.

[r] During these transactions in Asia, Ptolemy, seeing of what importance Syria, Phœnicia, and

[r] Diod. l. xviii. p. 621, 622.

Judæa were, as well for covering Egypt, as for making proper dispositions from that quarter for the invasion of Cyprus, which he had then in view, determined to make himself master of those provinces, which were governed by Laomedon. With this intention he sent Nicanor into Syria with a body of land forces, while he himself set out with a fleet to attack the coasts. Nicanor defeated Laomedon, and took him prisoner; in consequence of which he soon conquered the inland country. Ptolemy had the same advantages on the coasts, by which means he became absolute master of those provinces. The princes in alliance with him were alarmed at the rapidity of these conquests; but Antipater was at too great a distance, being then in Macedonia; and Antigonus was too much employed against Eumenes, to oppose these great accessions to the power of Ptolemy, who gave them no little jealousy.

[s] After the defeat of Laomedon, the Jews were the only people who made any resistance. They were duly sensible of the obligation they were under by the oath they had taken, to their governor, and were determined to continue faithful to him. Ptolemy advanced into Judæa, and formed the siege of Jerusalem. This city was so strong by its advantageous situation, in conjunction with the works of art, that it would have sustained a long siege, had it not been for the religious fear the Jews entertained of violating the law, if they should defend themselves on the sabbath. Ptolemy was not long unacquainted with this particular; and in order to improve the great advantage it gave him, he chose that day for the general assault; and as no individual among the Jews would presume to defend himself, the city was taken without any difficulty.

Ptolemy at first treated Jerusalem and Judæa with great severity, for he carried above a hundred

[s] Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 1.

thousand of the inhabitants captives into Egypt: but when he afterwards considered the steadiness with which they had persisted in the fidelity they had sworn to their governors, on this and a variety of other occasions, he was convinced that this quality rendered them more worthy of his confidence; and he accordingly chose thirty thousand of the most distinguished among them, who were most capable of serving him, and appointed them to guard the most important places in his dominions.

[t] Much about this time Antipater fell sick in Macedonia. The Athenians were greatly dissatisfied with the garrison he had left in their city, and had frequently pressed Phocion to go to the court of that prince, and solicit him to recall those troops: but he always declined that commission, either through a despair of not succeeding, or else because he was conscious that the fear of this garrison was the best expedient for keeping them within the bounds of their duty. Demades, who was not so difficult to be prevailed upon, undertook the commission with pleasure, and immediately set out with his son for Macedonia. But his arrival in that country could not have happened at a more fatal conjuncture for himself. Antipater, as I have already intimated, was seized with a severe illness; and his son Cassander, who was absolute master of all affairs, had lately intercepted a letter which Demades had written to Antigonus in Asia, pressing him to come as soon as possible, and make himself master of Greece and Macedonia; "which," as he expressed himself, "were held together only by a thread, and "even an old and rotten thread," ridiculing Antipater by those expressions. As soon as Cassander saw them appear at court, he caused them both to be arrested; and he himself seizing the son first, stabbed him before the face of his father, and at so little distance from him, that he was covered with his

[t] Diod. l. xviii. p. 625, 626. Plut. in Phoc. p. 755.

blood. After which he reproached him with his perfidy and ingratitude, and when he had loaded him with insults, he killed him also with his own hands on the dead body of his son. It is impossible not to detest so barbarous a proceeding; but we are not much disposed to pity such a wretch as Demades, who had dictated the decree by which Demosthenes and Hyperides were condemned to die.

The indisposition of Antipater proved fatal to him, and his last attention was employed in filling up the two great stations which he enjoyed. His son Cassander was very desirous of them, and expected to have them conferred upon him; notwithstanding which, Antipater bestowed the regency of the kingdom, and the government of Macedonia, on Polysperchon, the oldest of all the surviving captains of Alexander, and thought it sufficient to associate Cassander with him in those employments.

I am at a loss to determine, whether any instance of human conduct was ever greater, or more to be admired, than this which I have now related in few words; nothing certainly is more uncommon, and history affords us few instances of the same nature. It was necessary to appoint a governor over Macedonia, and a regent of the empire. Antipater, who knew the importance of those stations, was persuaded that his own glory and reputation, and, what was still more prevalent with him, the interest of the state, and the preservation of the Macedonian monarchy, required him to nominate a man of authority, and one respected for his age, experience, and past services. He had a son who was not void of merit; how rare and difficult therefore, but, at the same time, how amiable and glorious, was it to select, on such an occasion, no man but the most deserving, and best qualified to serve the public effectually; to stifle the voice of nature, turn a deaf ear to all her remonstrances, and not suffer the judgment to be seduced by the impressions of paternal affection; in a word, to continue

so much master of one's discernment, as to render justice to the merit of a stranger, and openly prefer it to that of a son, and sacrifice all the interest of one's own family to the public welfare! History has transmitted to us an expression of the emperor Galba, which will do honour to his memory throughout all ages. "Augustus,"* said he, "chose "a successor out of his own family; and I one from "the whole empire."

Cassander was extremely enraged at the gross affront, which, as he pretended, had been offered him by this choice, and thought in that respect like the generality of men, who are apt to look upon offices as hereditary, who consider the state as of no consequence in comparison with themselves; never examining what are the duties required by the posts they aspire to, or whether they have competent abilities to discharge them, but considering only whether those posts would be conducive to their fortune. Cassander, not being able to digest his father's preferring a stranger before him, endeavoured to form a party against the new regent. He secured to himself all the strong places he could in his government, as well in Greece as in Macedonia, and proposed nothing less than to divest Polysperchon of the whole.

"For this purpose he endeavoured to engage Ptolemy and Antigonus on his side; and they readily espoused it with the same views, and from the same motives. It was equally their interest to destroy this new regent, as well as the regency itself, which always kept them in apprehensions, and reminded them of their state of dependency. They likewise imagined, that it secretly reproached them for aspiring at sovereignty, while it cherished the rights of the two pupils; and left the governors in a situation of uncertainty, in consequence of which

[u] Diod. l. xviii. p. 630.

* *Augustus in domo successorem quæsivit: ego in republicâ.* TACIT. Hist. l. i. c. 15.

they were perpetually in fear of being divested of their power. Both the one and the other believed it would be easy for them to succeed in their designs, if the Macedonians were once engaged at home in a civil war.

The death of Antipater had rendered Antigonus the most powerful of all the captains of Alexander. His authority was absolute in all the provinces of Asia Minor, with the title of generalissimo, and an army of seventy thousand men and thirty elephants, which no power in the empire was, at that time, capable of resisting. It cannot, therefore, be thought surprising, that this superiority should inspire him with the design of engrossing the whole monarchy; and, in order to succeed in that attempt, he began with making a reformation in all the governments of the provinces within his jurisdiction, displacing all those persons whom he suspected, and substituting his creatures in their room. In the conduct of this scheme, he removed Aridæus from the government of Lesser Phrygia and the Hellespont, and Clitus from that of Lydia.

[x] Polysperchon neglected nothing, on his part, that was necessary to strengthen his interest; and thought it adviseable to recall Olympias, who had retired into Epirus under the regency of Antipater, with the offer of sharing his authority with her. This princess dispatched a courier to Eumenes, to consult him on the proposal she had received; and he advised her to wait some time, in order to see what turn affairs would take: adding, that if she determined to return to Macedonia, he would recommend it to her in particular, to forget all the injuries she thought she had received; that it would also be her interest to govern with moderation, and to make others sensible of her authority by benefactions, and not by severity. As to all other particulars, he promised an inviolable attachment to herself

[x] Diod. l. xviii. p. 626 & 634. Cor. Nep. in Eumen. c. vi.

and the royal family. Olympias did not conform to these judicious counsels in any respect, but set out as soon as possible for Macedonia; where, upon her arrival, she consulted nothing but her passions, and her insatiable desire of dominion and revenge.

Polysperchon, who had many enemies upon his hands, endeavoured to secure Greece, of which he foresaw Cassander would attempt to make himself master. He also took measures with relation to other parts of the empire, as will appear by the sequel.

[y] In order to engage the Greeks in his interest, he issued a decree, by which he recalled the exiles, and reinstated all the cities in their ancient privileges. He acquainted the Athenians in particular by letters, that the king had re-established their democracy and ancient form of government, by which the Athenians were admitted without distinction into public offices. This was a strain of policy calculated to ensnare Phocion; for Polysperchon intending to make himself master of Athens, as was evident in a short time, despaired of succeeding in that design, unless he could find some expedient to procure the banishment of Phocion, who had favoured and introduced oligarchy under Antipater; and he had, therefore, no doubt that he would be immediately banished, as soon as those, who had been excluded from the government, should be reinstated in their ancient rights.

[y] Diod. l. xviii. p. 631, 632.

SECT. V. *The Athenians condemn Phocion to die. Cassander makes himself master of Athens, where he establishes Demetrius Phalereus in the government of that republic. His prudent administration. Eumenes quits Nora. Various expeditions of Antigonus, Seleucus, Ptolemy, and other generals against him. Olympias causes Aridæus to be slain, and is murdered in her turn by the orders of Cassander. The war between him and Polysperchon. The re-establishment of Thebes. Eumenes is betrayed by his own troops, delivered up to Antigonus, and put to death.*

[z] CASSANDER, before the death of Antipater was known at Athens, had sent Nicanor thither, to succeed Menyllus in the government of the fortress of Munychia, soon after which he had made himself master of the Piræeus. Phocion, who placed too much confidence in the probity and fidelity of Nicanor, had contracted a strict intimacy, and conversed frequently with him, which caused the people to suspect him more than ever.

In this conjuncture, Alexander, the son of Polysperchon, arrived with a great body of troops, under pretext of succouring the city against Nicanor, but in reality to seize it himself, if possible, by taking advantage of the divisions which then reigned within it. A tumultuous assembly was convened, in which Phocion was divested of his employment; while Demetrius Phalereus, with several other citizens, who were apprehensive of the same fate, immediately retired from the city. Phocion, who had the grief to see himself accused of treason, took sanctuary with Polysperchon, who sent him back to be tried by the people. An assembly

[z] Diod. l. xviii. p. 638—642.

was immediately convoked, from which neither slaves, foreigners, nor any infamous persons whatever, were excluded, although this proceeding was contrary to all the established rules. Phocion and the other prisoners were presented to the people. Most persons of any merit in the assembly, cast down their eyes to the earth at this spectacle, and covering their heads, wept abundantly. One among them having the courage to move, that the slaves and foreigners might be ordered to withdraw, was immediately opposed by the populace, who cried out that they ought rather to stone those advocates for oligarchy, and enemies of the people. Phocion frequently attempted to plead his own cause, and vindicate his conduct, but was always interrupted. It was customary at Athens, for the person accused to declare, before sentence passed against him, what punishment he ought to suffer. Phocion answered aloud, that he condemned himself to die, but desired the assembly to spare the rest. Upon this, the suffrages were demanded, and they were unanimously sentenced to suffer death, previous to which they were conveyed to the dungeon. Demetrius Phalereus, and some others, though absent, were included in the same condemnation. The companions of Phocion were so affected by the sorrow of their relations and friends, who came to embrace them in the streets, with the melancholy tender of the last farewell, that they proceeded on their way, lamenting their unhappy fate in a flood of tears: but Phocion still retained the same air and countenance as he had formerly shown when he quitted the assembly to take upon him the command of armies, and when the Athenians attended him in crowds to his own house with the voice of praises and acclamations.

One of the populace, more insolent than the rest, advanced up to him, and spat in his face. Phocion only turned to the magistrates, and said, "Will "nobody hinder this man from acting so unwor-

"thily?" When he arrived at the prison, one of his friends having asked him if he had any message to send to his son? "Yes, certainly," replied he, "it "is to desire that he would never remember the in- "justice of the Athenians." When he had uttered these words, he took the hemlock, and died.

On that day there was also a public procession; and as it passed before the prison, some of the persons who composed it took their crowns from their heads; others turned their eyes to the gates of the prison, and burst into tears; and all who had any remains of humanity and religion, and whose souls were not entirely depraved and blinded by rage or envy, acknowledged it to be an instance of unnatural barbarity, as well as a great impiety, with regard to the city, not to have abstained, on such a solemn day, from the infliction of death on a citizen so universally esteemed, and whose admirable virtues had procured him the appellation of The Good.*

To punish † the greatest virtues as the most flagitious crimes, and to repay the best of services with the most inhuman treatment, is an offence worthy of condemnation in all places, but especially in Athens, where ingratitude was punishable by the law. The regulations of her sage legislator still subsisted at that time, but they were wrested to the condemnation of her citizens, and only became an evidence, how much that people were degenerated in their manners.

The enemies of Phocion, not satisfied with the punishment they had caused him to suffer, and fancying that something more was still wanting to complete their triumph, obtained an order from the peo-

* *Ob integritatem vitæ Bonus est appellatus.* Cor. Nep.

† *Quid obest quin publica dementia sit existimanda, summo consensu maximas virtutes quasi gravissima delicta punire, beneficiaque injuriis rependere? Quod cum ubique, tum præcipuè Athenis intolerabile videri debet, in quâ urbe adversùs ingratos actio constituta est—Quantam ergo reprehensionem merentur, qui cum æquissima jura sed iniquissima habebant ingenia, moribus suis, quàm legibus uti maluerint?* Val. Max. l. v. c. 3.

ple, that his body should be carried out of the territory of Attica, and that none of the Athenians should furnish fire to honour his funeral pile: these last offices were, therefore, rendered to him in the territories of Megara. A lady of the country, who accidentally assisted at his funeral with her servants, caused a cenotaph, or vacant tomb, to be erected to his memory on the same spot; over which she made the customary libations; and collecting into her robe the bones of that great man, which she had carefully gathered up, she conveyed them into her house by night, and buried them under her hearth, with these expressions: "Dear "and sacred hearth, I here confide to thee, and "deposit in thy bosom, these precious remains of "a worthy man. Preserve them with fidelity, in "order to restore them hereafter to the monument "of his ancestors, when the Athenians shall be-"come wiser than they are at present."

Though it may possibly be thought, that a variety of irregular, tumultuous, unjust, and cruel sentences, denounced in Athens against virtuous citizens at different times, might have prepared us for this last; it will, however, be always thought surprising, that a whole people, of whom one naturally conceives a noble idea, after such a series of great actions, should be capable of such a strange perversity. But it ought to be remembered, that the dregs of a vile populace, entirely void of honour, probity, and morals, predominated at that time at Athens. And there is sufficient foundation for the sentiments of Plato and Plutarch, who declare, that the people, when they are either destitute of guides, or no longer listen to their admonitions; and when they have thrown off the reins by which they once were checked, and are entirely abandoned to their impetuosity and caprice; ought to be considered as a blind, furious, intractable, and bloodthirsty monster, ready to launch in a moment into the most fatal and opposite extremes, and infinitely

more formidable than the most inhuman tyrants. What can be expected from such a tribunal? When people resolve to be guided by nothing but mere passion; to have no regard to decorum, and to run headlong into an open violation of all laws; the best, the justest, and most innocent of mankind, will sink under an implacable and prevailing cabal. This Socrates experienced almost a hundred years before Phocion perished by the same fate.

This last was one of the greatest men that Greece ever produced, in whose person every kind of merit was united. He had been educated in the school of Plato and Xenocrates, and formed his manners upon the most perfect plan of Pagan virtue, to which his conduct was always conformable.

It would be difficult for any person to carry disinterestedness higher than this extraordinary man; which appeared from the extreme poverty in which he died, after the many great offices he had filled. How many opportunities of acquiring riches has a general always at the head of armies, who acts against rich and opulent enemies; sometimes in countries abounding with all things, and which seem to invite the plunderer! But Phocion would have thought it infamous, had he returned from his campaigns laden with any acquisition, but the glory of his exalted actions, and the grateful benedictions of the people he had spared.

This excellent person, amidst all the severity which rendered him in some measure intractable, when the interests of the republic were concerned, had so much natural softness and humanity that his enemies themselves always found him disposed to assist them. It might even have been said, that he was a composition of two natures, whose qualities were entirely opposite to each other in appearance. When he acted as a public man, he armed himself with fortitude, and steadiness, and zeal; he could sometimes assume even the air of a rigid indignation, and was inflexible in supporting discipline in

its utmost strictness. If, on the other hand, he appeared in a private capacity, his conduct was a perpetual display of mildness and affability, condescension and patience, and was graced with all the virtues that can render the commerce of life agreeable. It was no inconsiderable merit, and especially in a military man, to be capable of uniting two such different characters in such a manner, that as the severity which was necessary for the preservation of good order, was never seen to degenerate into the rigour that creates aversion, so the gentleness and complacency of his disposition never sunk into that softness and indifference which occasions contempt.

He has been greatly applauded for reforming the modern custom of his country, which made war and politics two different professions; and also for restoring the manner of governing which Pericles and Aristides adopted, by uniting each of those talents in himself.

As he was persuaded, that eloquence was essential to a statesman, especially in a republican government, he applied himself to the attainment of it with great assiduity and success. His was concise, solid, full of force and sense, always keeping close to the point in question. He thought it beneath a statesman to use a poignant and satiric style, and his only answer to those who employed such language against him, was silence and patience. [a] An orator having once interrupted him with many injurious expressions, he suffered him to continue in that strain as long as he pleased, and then resumed his own discourse with as much coolness as if he had heard nothing.

It was highly glorious for Phocion, that he was forty-five times elected general by a people to whose caprice he was so little inclinable to accommodate his conduct; and it is remarkable that these

[a] Plut. de ger. rep. p 810.

elections always happened when he was absent, without any previous solicitations on his part. His wife was sufficiently sensible how much this redounded to his glory; and one day when an Ionian lady of considerable rank, who lodged in her house, showed her, with an air of ostentation and pleasure, her ornaments of gold, with a variety of jewels and bracelets, she answered her with a modest tone, "For my part, I have no ornament but "Phocion, who for these twenty years has always "been elected general of the Athenians."

His regular and frugal life contributed not a little to the vigorous and healthy old age he enjoyed. When he was in his eightieth year, he commanded the forces, and sustained all the fatigues of war, with the vivacity of a young officer.

One of the great principles in the politics of Phocion was, that peace ought always to be the aim of every wise government, and with this view, he was a constant opposer of all wars that were either imprudent or unnecessary. He was even apprehensive of those that were most just and expedient; because he was sensible, that every war weakened and impoverished a state, even amidst a series of the greatest victories, and that whatever the advantage might be at the commencement of it, there was never any certainty of terminating it, without experiencing the most tragical vicissitudes of fortune.

The interest of the public never gave way with him to any domestic views; he constantly refused to solicit, or act in favour of his son-in-law, Charicles, who was summoned before the republic, to account for the sums he had received from Harpalus; and he then addressed himself to him with this admirable expression—"I have made you my "son-in-law, but only for what is honest and ho-"nourable." It must indeed be acknowledged, that men of this character seem very unaccommodating and insupportable in the common transac-

tions of life: they are always starting difficulties,* when any affair is proposed to them; and never perform any good offices with entire ease and grace. They must always deliberate, whether what is requested of them be just or not. Their friends and relations have as little influence over them as utter strangers; and they always oppose, either their conscience, or some particular duties to ancient friendship, affinity, or the interest of their families. To this height of delicacy did Phocion carry the Pagan probity.

One may justly apply to him what Tacitus said of a celebrated Roman, I mean Helvidius Priscus.† Phocion, who had as solid a genius as that person, applied himself at first to philosophy, not to cover his indolence with the pompous title of a sage, but to qualify himself for entering upon the conduct of affairs with more vigour and resolution against all unexpected accidents. He concurred in opinion with those who acknowledge no other good or evil than virtue and vice, and who rank all externals, as fortune, power, nobility, in the class of indifferent things. He was a firm friend, a tender husband, a good senator, a worthy citizen, and discharged all the offices of civil life with equal integrity. He preserved a steadiness of mind in prosperity that resembled stiffness and severity, and despised death as much as riches.

These are part of the great qualities of Phocion, who merited a happier end; and they were placed

* *Hæc prima lex in amicitiâ sanciatur, ut neque rogemus res turpes, nec faciamus rogati. Turpis enim excusatio est, et minimè accipienda, cùm in cæteris peccatis, tum si quis contra rempublicam se amici causâ fecisse fateatur.* Cic. de Amicit. n. 40.

† *Ingenium illustre altioribus studiis juvenis admodum dedit, non ut nomine magnifico segne otium velaret, sed quò firmior adversùs fortuita rempublicam capesseret. Doctores sapientiæ secutus est, qui sola bona quæ honesta, mala tantùm quæ turpia, potentiam, nobilitatem, cæteraque extra animum, neque bonis neque malis annumerant—Civis, senator, maritus, amicus, cunctis vitæ officiis æquabilis: opum contemptor, recti pervicax, constans adversùs metus.* Tacit. Hist. l. iv. c. 5.

in their most amiable light by his death. The constancy of mind, the mildness of disposition, and the forgetfulness of wrongs conspicuous in his conduct on that occasion, are above all his other praises, and infinitely enhance their lustre, especially as we shall see nothing comparable to him from henceforth in the Grecian history.

His infatuated and ungrateful country was not sensible of their unworthy proceeding till some time after his death. The Athenians then erected a statue of brass to his memory, and honourably interred his bones at the public expence. His accusers also suffered a punishment suitable to their desert; but did not his judges themselves deserve to be treated with greater severity? They punished their own crime in others, and thought themselves acquitted by erecting a brazen statue. They were even ready to relapse into the same injustice against others who were equally innocent, whom they condemned during their lives, and had never the equity to acquit till after their death.

[b] Cassander was careful to take advantage of the disorder that reigned in Athens, and entered the Piræeus with a fleet of thirty-five vessels, which he had received from Antigonus. The Athenians, when they beheld themselves destitute of all succours, unanimously resolved to send deputies to Cassander, in order to know the conditions on which they might obtain a peace; and it was mutually agreed that the Athenians should continue masters of the city, with its territories, and likewise of the revenues and ships. But it was stipulated that the citadel should remain in the power of Cassander, till he had ended the war with the kings. And as to what related to the affairs of the republic, it was agreed, that those whose income amounted to ten minæ, or a thousand drachmæ, should have a share in the government, which was a less sum by half than that which was

[b] Diod. l. xviii. p. 642.

the qualification for public employments, when Antipater made himself master of Athens. In a word, the inhabitants permitted Cassander to choose what citizen he pleased to govern the republic; and Demetrius Phalereus was elected to that dignity about the close of the third year of the 115th Olympiad. The ten years' government, therefore, which Diodorus and Diogenes have assigned Demetrius, is to be computed from the beginning of the following year.

He governed the republic in peace; constantly treated his fellow-citizens with mildness and humanity; and historians acknowledge that the government was never better regulated than under Cassander. This prince seemed inclinable to tyranny; but the Athenians were not sensible of its effects. And though Demetrius, whom he had constituted chief of the republic, was invested with a kind of sovereign power; yet instead of abolishing the democracy, he may rather be said to have re established it. He acted in such a manner, that the people scarce perceived that he was master. As he united in his person the politician and the man of letters, his soft and persuasive eloquence demonstrated the truth of an expression he frequently used, that discourse had as much power in a government as arms in war. His abilities in political affairs were equally conspicuous;* for he drew forth speculative philosophy from the shade and inactivity of the schools, exhibited her in full light, and knew how to familiarize her precepts with the most tumultuous affairs. It would have been difficult, therefore, to have found a person capable of excelling like him, at the same time, in the art of government, and the study of the sciences.

* *Mirabiliter doctrinam ex umbraculis eruditorum otioque, non modò in solem atque pulverem, sed in ipsum discrimen aciemque perduxit——Qui utrâque re excelleret, ut et doctrinæ studiis, et regendâ civitate princeps esset, quis facilè præter hunc inveniri potest?* Cic. l. iii. de leg. n. 15.

He acquired, during these ten years of his government, that reputation which has caused him to be considered as one of the greatest men Athens has produced. He augmented the revenues of the republic, and adorned the city with noble structures; he was likewise industrious to diminish luxury, and all expences calculated only for ostentation. For which reason he disapproved of those that were laid out on theatres,* porticoes, and new temples, and openly censured Pericles, for having bestowed such a prodigious sum of money on the magnificent porticoes of the temple of Pallas, called *Propylæa*.[c] But in all public feasts which had been consecrated by antiquity, or when the people were inclinable to be expensive in the celebration of any sacred solemnities, he permitted them to use their riches as they pleased.

[d]The expence was excessive at the death of great persons, and their sepulchres were as sumptuous and magnificent as those of the Romans in the age of Cicero. Demetrius made a law to abolish this abuse, which had passed into a custom, and inflicted penalties on those who disobeyed it. He also ordered the ceremonials of funerals to be performed by night, and none were permitted to place any other ornament on tombs, than a column three cubits high, or a plain tablet, *mensam;* and he appointed a particular magistrate to enforce the observation of this law.

[e]He likewise made laws for the regulation of manners, and commanded young persons to testify respect to their parents at home; and in the city to those whom they met in their way, and to themselves when they were alone.

[f]The poor citizens were likewise the objects of

[c] Plut. in præcept. reip. ger. p. 818. [d] Cic. de Leg. l. ii. n. 63—66. [e] Diog. Laert. [f] Plut. in vit. Arist. p. 535.

* *Theatra, porticus, nova templa, verecundiùs reprehendo propter Pompeium; sed doctissimi improbant—ut Phalereus Demetrius qui Periclem, principem Græciæ, vituperabat quòd tantam pecuniam in præclara illa Propylæa conjecerit.* Cic. l. ii. de Offic. n. 60.

his attention. There were at that time in Athens some of the descendants of Aristides, that Athenian general, who, after he had possessed the greatest offices in the state, and governed the affairs of the treasury for a very considerable time, died so poor, that the public was obliged to defray the charges of his funeral. Demetrius took care of those descendants who were poor, and assigned them a daily sum for their subsistence.

[g] Such, says Ælian, was the government of Demetrius Phalereus, till the spirit of envy, so natural to the Athenians, obliged him to quit the city, in the manner we shall soon relate.

The advantageous testimonials rendered him by ancient authors of the greatest repute, not only with respect to his extraordinary talents and ability in the art of government, but likewise to his virtue, and the wisdom of his conduct, furnish a full refutation of all that has been advanced by Athenæus, on the authority of the historian Duris, with relation to the irregularity of his deportment; and strengthens the conjecture of M. Bonamy, who supposes, that Duris, or Athenæus, has imputed that to Demetrius Phalereus which related only to Demetrius Poliorcetes, the son of Antigonus, to whom Ælian ascribes the very particulars which Athenæus had cited from Duris. [h] The reader may have recourse to the dissertation of M. Bonamy, which has been very useful to me in the course of this work.

[i] During the 115th Olympiad, Demetrius Phalereus caused the inhabitants of Attica to be numbered, and they amounted to twenty one thousand [k] citizens, ten thousand [l] strangers, and * forty thousand [m] domestics.

[g] Ælian. l. iii. c. 17. [h] Tom. VIII. des Memoires de l'Academ. des Belles Lettres. [i] Athen. l. vi. p. 272.
[k] Ἀθηναίους. [l] μετοίκους. [m] οἰκέτας.
* The words in the original are μυριάδας, τεσσαράκοντα, forty myriads, which are equal to four hundred thousand, which is an evident mistake; and it undoubtedly ought to be read τέσσαρας, four myriads, which amount to forty thousand.

[n] We now return to Polysperchon. When he had received intelligence that Cassander had made himself master of Athens, he immediately hastened to besiege him in that city; but as the siege took up a great length of time, he left part of his troops before the place, and advanced with the rest into Peloponnesus, to force the city of Megalopolis to surrender. The inhabitants made a long and vigorous defence, which compelled Polysperchon to employ his attention and forces on those quarters to which he was called by more pressing necessities. He dispatched Clitus to the Hellespont, with orders to prevent the enemy's troops from passing out of Asia into Europe. Nicanor set sail, at the same time, from the port of Athens, in order to attack him, but was himself defeated near Byzantium. Antigonus having advanced in a very seasonable juncture, made himself amends for this loss, beat Clitus, and took all his fleet, except the vessel which Clitus was aboard, which escaped with great difficulty.

[o] Antigonus was most embarrassed in his endeavours to reduce Eumenes, whose valour, wisdom, and great ability in the art of war, were more formidable to him than all the rest, though he had besieged and blocked him up for twelve months in the castle of Nora. He therefore made a second attempt to engage him in his interest, for he had taken measures to that effect before he formed that siege. He accordingly consigned this commission to Jerom of Cardia, his countryman, and a famous historian of that time,* who was authorised by him to make overtures of accommodation to his adversary. Eumenes conducted this negociation with so much dexterity and address, that he extricated himself from the siege, at the very juncture wherein he was reduced

[n] Diod. l. xviii. p. 642—646. [o] Plut. in Eumen. p 590.

* He compiled the history of those who divided the dominions of Alexander among themselves, and it likewise comprehended the history of their successors.

to the last extremities, and without entering into any particular engagements with Antigonus. For the latter having inserted in the oath which Eumenes was to swear in consequence of this accommodation, that he would consider all those as his friends and enemies, who should prove such to Antigonus; Eumenes changed that article, and swore that he would regard all those as his friends and enemies, who should be such to Olympias and the kings, as well as to Antigonus. He consented that the Macedonians who assisted at the siege, should determine which of these two forms was best; and as they were guided by their affection for the royal family, they declared, without the least hesitation, for the form drawn up by Eumenes; upon which he swore to it, and the siege was immediately raised.

When Antigonus was informed of the manner in which this affair was concluded, he was so dissatisfied with it, that he refused to ratify the treaty, and gave orders for the siege to be instantly renewed. These orders, however, came too late, for as soon as Eumenes saw the enemy's forces were withdrawn from before the place, he quitted it without delay, with the remains of his troops, which amounted to five hundred men, and retired to Cappadocia, where he immediately assembled two thousand of his veteran soldiers, and made all the necessary preparations for sustaining the war, which he foresaw would soon be revived against him.

The revolt of Antigonus from the kings having occasioned a great alarm, Polysperchon the regent dispatched to Eumenes, in the name of the kings, a commission by which he was constituted captain-general of Asia Minor; orders were likewise sent to Teutames and Antigenes, colonels of the Argyraspides, to join, and serve under him, against Antigonus. The necessary orders were also transmitted to those who had the care of the king's treasures, to pay him five hundred talents, for the re-establishment of his own affairs, and likewise to furnish him

with all the sums that would be necessary to defray the expences of the war. All these were accompanied with letters from Olympias to the same purport.

A. M. 3680. Ant. J. C. 318. [p] Eumenes was very sensible that the accumulation of all these honours on the head of a foreigner, would infallibly excite a violent envy against him, and render him odious to the Macedonians: but as he was incapable of acting to any effect without them, and since the good of the service itself made it necessary for him to employ all his efforts to gain them, he began with refusing the sums which were granted him for his own use, declaring that he had no occasion for them, because he was not intent on any particular advantage of his own, nor on any enterprise of that tendency. He was studious to treat every person about him, the officers, and even the soldiers, with an obliging civility, in order to extinguish, as much as possible, or at least to weaken, by an engaging conduct, the jealousy to which his condition, as a foreigner, afforded a plausible pretext, though he endeavoured not to draw it upon himself by any conduct of his own.

But an impediment, still more invincible in appearance, threw him under a restraint, and created him very cruel anxiety. Antigenes and Teutames, who commanded the Argyraspides, thought it dishonourable to their nation to submit to a foreigner, and refused to attend him in council. On the other hand, he could not, without derogating from the prerogatives of his post, comply with them in that point, and consent to his own degradation. An ingenious fiction disengaged him from this perplexity; and he had recourse to the aids of religion, or rather superstition, which has always a powerful influence over the minds of men, and seldom fails to take effect. He assured them, "That "Alexander, arrayed in his royal robes, had ap-

[p] Diod. l. xviii. p. 635, 636, & 663. Plut. in Eum. p. 591—593. Cor. Nep. c. vii.

"appeared to him in his slumber, and shown him a "magnificent tent, in which a throne was erected, "and that the monarch declared to him, that while "they held their councils in that tent, to deliber- "ate on their affairs, he himself would be always "present, seated on that throne; from whence he "would issue his orders to his captains, and that he "would conduct them in the execution of all their "designs and enterprises, provided they would al- "ways address themselves to him." This discourse was sufficient, and the minds of all who heard it were wrought upon by the profound respect they entertained for the memory of that prince: in consequence of which they immediately ordered a splendid tent to be erected, and a throne placed in it, which was to be called *the throne of Alexander;* and on it were to be laid his diadem and crown, with his sceptre and arms; that all the chiefs should resort thither every morning to offer sacrifices; that their consultations should be held near the throne, and that all orders should be received in the name of the king, as if he were still living, and taking care of his kingdom. Eumenes calmed the dispute by this expedient, which met with unanimous approbation. No one raised himself above the others; but each competitor continued in the enjoyment of his privileges, till new events decided them in a more positive manner.

[q] As Eumenes was sufficiently supplied with money, he soon raised a very considerable body of troops, and had an army of twenty thousand men in the spring. These forces, with Eumenes at their head, were sufficient to spread terror among his enemies. Ptolemy sailed to the coasts of Cilicia, and employed all sorts of expedients to corrupt the Argyraspides. Antigonus, on his part, made the same attempts by the emissaries he had in his camp; but neither the one nor the other could

[q] Diod. l. xviii. p. 636—638.

then succeed; so much had Eumenes gained upon the minds of his soldiers, and so great was the confidence they reposed in him.

He advanced, with these troops, thus favourably disposed, into Syria and Phœnicia, to recover those provinces which Ptolemy had seized with the greatest injustice. The maritime force of Phœnicia, in conjunction with the fleet, which the regent had already procured, would have rendered them absolute masters by sea, and they might likewise have been capable of transmitting all necessary succours to each other. Could Eumenes have succeeded in this design, it would have been a decisive blow; but the fleet of Polysperchon having been entirely destroyed by the misconduct of Clitus, who commanded it, that misfortune rendered his project ineffectual. Antigonus, who had defeated him, marched by land, immediately after that victory, against Eumenes, with an army much more numerous than his own. Eumenes made a prudent retreat through Cœle-syria, passed the Euphrates, and took up his winter-quarters at Carrhæ in Mesopotamia.

[r] During his continuance in those parts, he sent to Pithon, governor of Media, and to Seleucus, governor of Babylon, to press them to join him with their forces against Antigonus, and caused the orders of the kings to be shown them, by which they were enjoined to comply with his demand. They answered, that they were ready to assist those monarchs; but that, as to himself, they would have no transactions with a man who had been declared a public enemy by the Macedonians. This was only a pretext, and they were actuated by a much more prevalent motive. If they had acknowledged the authority of Eumenes, and had obeyed him by advancing to him, and subjecting their troops to his command, they must also have acknow-

[r] Diod. l. xix. p. 660, 661.

ledged the sovereign power of the regent, as well as of those who were masters of the royal pupils, and made use of their name, to render their own power more extensive. Pithon and Seleucus must, therefore, by inevitable consequence, have owned that they held their governments only from those kings, and might be divested of them at their pleasure by the first order which might be issued to that effect; and this would have destroyed all their ambitious pretences with a single stroke.

Most of the officers of Alexander, who had shared the governments of the empire among themselves after his death, were solicitous to secure to themselves the supreme power in their several provinces; for which reason they had chosen a person of a mean capacity, and an infant, on whom they conferred the title of sovereign, in order to have sufficient time to establish their usurpations under so weak a government. But all these measures would have been disconcerted, if they had allowed Eumenes an ascendant over them, with such an air of superiority as subjected them to his orders. He issued them, indeed, in the name of the kings; but this was a circumstance they were desirous of evading, and this it was that created him so many enemies and obstructions. They were also apprehensive of the merit and superior genius of Eumenes, who was capable of the greatest and most difficult enterprises. It is certain, that of all the captains of Alexander, he had the greatest share of wisdom and bravery, and was also the most steady in his resolutions, and the most faithful in his engagements; for he never violated those which he had made with any of those commanders, though they did not observe the same fidelity with respect to him.

Eumenes marched in the direction of Babylonia the following spring, and was in danger of losing his army by a stratagem of Seleucus. The troops were encamped in a plain near the Euphrates; and Seleucus, by cutting the banks of that river, laid all the neigh-

bouring country under water. Eumenes, however, was so expeditious as to gain an eminence with his troops, and found means, the next day, to drain off the inundation so effectually, that he pursued his march almost without sustaining any loss.

[s] Seleucus was then reduced to the necessity of making a truce with him, and of granting him a peaceable passage through the territories of his province, in order to arrive at Susa, where he disposed his troops into quarters of refreshment, while he solicited all the governors of the provinces in Upper Asia for succours. He had before notified to them the order of the kings; and those whom he had charged with that commission, found them all assembled, at the close of a war they had undertaken in concert against Pithon the governor of Media. This Pithon having pursued the very same measures in the Upper Asia, which Antigonus had formed in the Lower, had caused Philotas to be put to death, and made himself master of his government. He would likewise have attempted to treat the rest in the same manner, if they had not opposed him by this confederacy, which the common interest had formed against him. Peucestes, governor of the province of Persia, had the command in chief conferred upon him, and defeated Pithon, drove him out of Media, and obliged him to go to Babylon to implore the protection of Seleucus. All the confederates were still in the camp after this victory, when the deputies from Eumenes arrived, and they immediately marched from Susa to join him; not that they were really devoted to the royal party, but because they were more apprehensive than ever of being subjected to the victorious Antigonus, who was then at the head of a powerful army, and either divested of their employments all such governors as he suspected, or reduced them to the state of mere officers, liable to be removed and punished at his pleasure.

[s] Diod. l. xix. p. 662—664. Plut. in Eumen.

They joined Eumenes, therefore, with all their forces, which composed an army of above twenty-five thousand men. With this reinforcement he saw himself not only in a condition to oppose Antigonus, who was then advancing to him, but even much superior in the number of his troops. The season was too far advanced when Antigonus arrived at the banks of the Tigris, and was obliged to take winter-quarters in Mesopotamia; where, with Seleucus and Pithon, who were then of his party, he concerted measures for the operations of the next campaign. A. M. 3687. Ant. J. C. 317.

[t] During these transactions, Macedonia was the scene of a great revolution. Olympias, the mother of Alexander the Great, whom Polysperchon had recalled, had made herself absolute mistress of affairs, and caused Aridæus, or Philip, who had enjoyed the title of king for six years and four months, to be put to death. Eurydice his consort shared the same fate; for Olympias sent her a dagger, a cord, and a bowl of poison, and only allowed her the liberty of choosing her death. She accordingly gave the preference to the cord, and then strangled herself, after she had uttered a thousand imprecations against her enemy and murderess. Nicanor, the brother of Cassander, and a hundred of the principal friends of this latter, likewise suffered death.

These repeated barbarities did not long remain unpunished. Olympias had retired to Pydna with the young king Alexander, and his mother Roxana, with Thessalonica, the sister of Alexander the Great, and Deidamia, the daughter of Æacides, king of Epirus, and sister of Pyrrhus. Cassander did not lose any time, but besieged them by sea and land. Æacides prepared to assist the princesses, and was already upon his march; but the greatest part of his forces, who were averse to that expedi-

[t] Diod. l. xix. p. 659, 660.

tion, revolted from the king, and condemned him to banishment when they returned to Epirus. They likewise massacred all his friends; and Pyrrhus, the son of Æacides, who was then but an infant, would have suffered the same fate, if a set of faithful domestics had not happily withdrawn him from their rage. Epirus then declared in favour of Cassander, who sent Lyciscus thither to take upon him the government in his name. Olympias had then no resource but in Polysperchon alone, who was then in Perrhœbia, a small province on the confines of Ætolia, and was preparing to succour her; but Cassander sent Callas, one of his generals, against him, who corrupted the greatest part of his troops, and obliged him to retire into Naxia, a city of Perrhœbia, where he besieged him. Olympias, who had supported all the miseries of famine with an invincible courage, having now lost all hopes of relief, was compelled to surrender at discretion.

Cassander, in order to destroy her in a manner that might give the least offence, prompted the relations of the principal officers, whom Olympias had caused to be slain during her regency, to accuse her in the assembly of the Macedonians, and to sue for vengeance for the cruelties she had committed. The request of these persons was granted; and when they had all been heard, she was condemned to die, though absent, and no one interposed his good offices in her defence. After sentence of death had thus passed, Cassander proposed to her, by some friends, to retire to Athens, promising to accommodate her with a galley to convey her thither, whenever she should be so disposed. His intention was to destroy her in her passage by sea, and to publish through all Macedonia that the gods, amidst their displeasure at her horrible cruelties, had abandoned her to the mercy of the waves; for he was apprehensive of a retaliation from the Macedonians, and was, therefore, desirous of casting upon Providence all the odious circumstances of his own perfidy.

Olympias, whether she had been advertised of Cassander's design, or whether she was actuated by sentiments of grandeur, so natural to persons of her rank, imagined her presence alone would calm the storm, and answered with an imperious air, that she was not a woman who would have recourse to flight, and insisted on pleading her own cause in the public assembly; adding, this was the least favour that could be granted a queen, or rather that it was an act of justice, which could not be refused to persons of the lowest rank. Cassander had no inclination to consent to this demand, having reason to be apprehensive that the remembrance of Philip and Alexander, for whom the Macedonians retained the utmost veneration, would create a sudden change in their resolutions; he, therefore, sent two hundred soldiers, entirely devoted to his will, with orders to destroy her: but resolute as they were, they were incapable of supporting the air of majesty which appeared in the eyes and aspect of that princess; and retired without executing their commission. It became necessary, therefore, to employ in this murder, the relations of those whom she had caused to suffer death; and they were transported at the opportunity of gratifying their own vengeance, and at the same time making their court to Cassander. Thus perished the famous Olympias, the daughter, the sister, the wife, and the mother of kings, who really merited so tragical a period of her days, in consequence of all her crimes and cruelties; but whom it is impossible to see perish in this manner, without detesting the wickedness of a prince who deprived her of life in so unworthy a manner.

[u] Cassander already beheld an assured passage to the Macedonian throne opened to his ambition; but he thought it incumbent on him to have recourse to other measures, in order to secure himself against the vicissitudes of time, the inconstancy of the

[u] Diod. l. xix. p. 695—697.

Macedonians, and the jealousy of his competitors. Thessalonica, the sister of Alexander the Great, being qualified by her illustrious birth, and authority in Macedonia, to conciliate to him the friendship of the grandees and people of that kingdom, he hoped, by espousing her, to attach them in a peculiar manner to himself, in consequence of the esteem and respect he should testify for the royal family.

There was still one obstacle more to be surmounted, without which Cassander would have always been deemed an usurper and a tyrant. The young prince Alexander, the son of Alexander the Great, by Roxana, was still living, and had been acknowledged king, and the lawful heir to the throne. It became necessary, therefore, to remove this prince and his mother out of the way. Cassander,* emboldened by the success of his former crime, was determined to commit a second, from whence he expected to derive all the fruit of his hopes. Prudence, however, made it necessary for him to sound the disposition of the Macedonians, with respect to the death of Olympias; for if they showed themselves insensible of the loss of that princess, he might be certain that the death of the young king and his mother would affect them as little. He, therefore, judged it expedient to proceed with caution, and advance by moderate steps, to the execution of his scheme. He began with causing Alexander and Roxana to be conducted to the castle of Amphipolis, by a strong escort, commanded by Glaucias, an officer entirely devoted to his interest. When they arrived at that fortress, they were divested of all regal honours, and treated rather like private persons, whom important motives of state made it necessary to secure.

He intended, by his next step, to make it evi-

* *Haud ignarus summa scelera incipi cum periculo, peragi cum præmio.* TACIT.

dent that he claimed sovereign power in Macedonia. With this view, and in order to render the memory of Olympias still more odious, he gave orders for performing with great magnificence the funeral obsequies of king Philip, or Aridæus, and queen Eurydice, his wife, who had been murdered by the directions of Olympias. He commanded such mourning to be used as was customary in solemnities of that nature, and caused the bodies to be deposited in the tombs appropriated to the sepulture of the Macedonian kings; affecting by these exteriors of dissembled sorrow to manifest his zeal for the royal family, at the same time that he was meditating the destruction of the young king.

Polysperchon, in consequence of the information he received of the death of Olympias, and the measures which Cassander was adopting in order to raise himself to the throne of Macedonia, had sheltered himself in Naxia, a city of Perrhœbia, where he had sustained a siege, and from whence he retreated with a very inconsiderable body of troops to pass into Thessaly, in order to join some forces of Æacides; after which he advanced into Ætolia, where he was greatly respected. Cassander followed him closely, and marched his army into Bœotia, where the ancient inhabitants of Thebes were seen wandering from place to place, without any fixed habitation or retreat. He was touched with the calamitous condition of that city, which was once so powerful, and had been razed to its very foundations by the command of Alexander. After a period of twenty years, he endeavoured to reinstate it in its primitive splendour; the Athenians offered to rebuild part of the walls at their own expence, and several towns and cities of Magna Græcia, Italy, Sicily, and Greece Proper, bestowed considerable sums on that occasion by voluntary contributions. By which means, Thebes, in a short space of time, recovered its ancient opulence, and became even richer than ever, by the care and

magnificence of Cassander, who was justly considered as the father and restorer of that city.

Cassander, after he had given proper orders for the re-establishment of Thebes, advanced into Peloponnesus, against Alexander, the son of Polysperchon, and marched directly to Argos, which surrendered without resistance; upon which all the cities of the Messenians, except Ithome, followed that example. Alexander, terrified at the rapidity of his conquests, endeavoured to check them by a battle; but Cassander, who was much inferior to him in troops, was unwilling to hazard a battle, and thought it more adviseable to retire into Macedonia, after he had left good garrisons in the places he had taken.

[x] As he knew the merit of Alexander, he endeavoured to disengage him from the party of Antigonus, and attach him to his own, by offering him the government of all Peloponnesus, with the command of the troops stationed in that country. An offer so advantageous was accepted by Alexander without any hesitation; but he did not long enjoy it, being unfortunately slain soon after by some citizens of Sicyon, where he then resided, who had combined to destroy him. This conspiracy, however, did not produce the effects expected from it; for Cratesipolis, the wife of Alexander, whose heart was a composition of grandeur and fortitude, instead of manifesting any consternation, at the sight of this fatal accident, as she was beloved by the soldiers and honoured by the officers, whom she had always obliged and served, assumed the command of the troops, repressed the insolence of the Sicyonians, and defeated them in a battle; after which she caused thirty of the most mutinous among them to be hung up; appeased all the troubles which had been excited by the seditious in the city, re-entered it in a victorious manner, and governed it with a wisdom that acquired her the admiration of all those who heard her conduct mentioned.

[x] Diod. l. xix. p. 705—708.

Whilst Cassander was employing all his efforts to establish himself on the throne of Macedonia, Antigonus was concerting measures to rid himself of a dangerous enemy; and, having taken the field the ensuing spring, he advanced to Babylon, where he augmented his army with the troops he received from Pithon and Seleucus, and then passed the Tigris to attack Eumenes, who had neglected nothing on his part to give him a warm reception. He was much superior to Antigonus in the number of his troops, and yet more in the abilities of a great commander; though the other was far from being defective in those qualifications: for, next to Eumenes, he was undoubtedly the best general and ablest statesman of his time. A. M. 3688. Ant. J. C. 316.

[r] One disadvantage on the side of Eumenes was, that his army being composed of different bodies of troops, which the governors of provinces had supplied, each of these governors pretended to the command in chief. Eumenes not being a Macedonian, but a Thracian by birth, every one of them thought himself, for that reason, his superior. We may add to this, that the pomp, splendour, and magnificence affected by them, seemed to leave an infinite distance between him and them, who assumed the air of real Satrapæ. They imagined, in consequence of a mistaken and ill-timed ambition, * but very customary with great men, that to give sumptuous repasts, and add to them whatever may heighten pleasure and gratify the senses, were part of the duties of a soldier of rank; and estimating their own merit by the largeness of their revenues and expences, they flattered themselves that they had acquired, by their means, an extraordinary credit, and a great authority over the troops, and that the army had all the consideration and esteem for them imaginable.

[r] Diod. l. xix. p. 669—672. Plut. in Eumen. p. 591, 592.

* *Non deerant qui ambitione stolidâ——luxuriosos apparatus conviviorum et irritamenta libidinum ut instrumenta belli mercarentur.* TACIT.

A. M. 3689. Ant. J. C. 315.

A circumstance happened, which ought to have undeceived them. As the soldiers were marching in quest of the enemy, Eumenes, who was seized with a dangerous indisposition, was carried in a litter, at a considerable distance from the army, to be more remote from the noise, and that he might enjoy the refreshment of slumber, of which he had long been deprived. When they had advanced some way, and began to perceive the enemy appear on the rising grounds, they halted on a sudden, and began to call for Eumenes. At the same time they cast their bucklers on the ground, and declared to their officers that they would not proceed on their march till Eumenes came to command them. He accordingly came with all expedition, hastening the slaves who carried him, and opening the curtains on each side of his litter: he then stretched out his hands to the soldiers, and made them a declaration of his joy and gratitude. When the troops beheld him, they immediately saluted him in the Macedonian language, resumed their bucklers, clashed upon them with their pikes, and broke forth into loud acclamations of victory and defiance to their enemies, as if they feared nothing, so they had but their general at their head.

[a] When Antigonus received intelligence that Eumenes was ill, and caused himself to be carried in a litter in the rear of the army, he advanced, in hopes that his distemper would deliver his enemies into his hands; but when he came near enough to take a view of them, and beheld their cheerful aspects, the disposition of their army, and particularly the litter, which was carried from rank to rank, he burst into a loud vein of laughter in his usual manner, and addresssing himself to one of his officers—"Take notice," said he, "of yonder litter; it is "that which has drawn up those troops against us, "and is now preparing to attack us." And then,

[a] Diod. l. xix. p. 672.

without losing a moment's time, he caused a retreat to be sounded, and returned to his camp.

Plutarch remarks, that the Macedonians made it very evident, on this occasion, that they judged all the other Satrapæ exceedingly well qualified to give splendid entertainments, and arrange great feasts, but that they esteemed Eumenes alone capable of commanding an army with ability. This is a solid and sensible reflection, and affords room for a variety of applications; and points out the false taste for glory, and the injudiciousness of those officers and commanders who are only studious to distinguish themselves in the army by magnificent entertainments, and place their principal merit in surpassing others in luxury, and frequently in ruining themselves, without thanks, by those ridiculous expences. I say without thanks, because nobody thinks himself obliged to them for their profusion, and they are always the worst servants of the state.

[a] The two armies having separated without engaging, encamped at the distance of three furlongs from each other, with a river and several gullies between them; and as they sustained great inconveniences, because the whole country was eaten up, Antigonus sent ambassadors to the Satrapæ and Macedonians of the army of Eumenes, to prevail upon them to quit that general and join him, making them, at the same time, the most magnificent promises to induce their compliance. The Macedonians rejected his proposals, and dismissed the ambassadors with severe menaces, in case they should presume to make any such offers for the future. Eumenes, after having commended them for their fidelity, related to them this very ancient fable: "A lion entertaining a passion for a young "virgin, demanded her one day in marriage of her "father, whose answer was that he esteemed this "alliance a great honour to him, and was ready

[a] Diod. l. xix. p. 672.

"to present his daughter to him; but that his "large nails and sharp teeth made him apprehen- "sive lest he should employ them a little too "rudely upon her, if the least difference should "arise between them with relation to their house- "hold affairs. The lion, who was passionately "fond of the maid, immediately suffered his claws "to be pared off, and his teeth to be drawn out. "After which the father caught up a strong cud- "gel, and soon drove away his proffered son-in- "law. This (continued Eumenes) is the aim of "Antigonus. He amuses you with mighty pro- "mises, in order to make himself master of your "forces; but when he has accomplished that de- "sign, he will soon make you sensible of his teeth "and claws."

[b]A few days after this event, some deserters from the army of Antigonus having acquainted Eumenes that that general was preparing to decamp the next night, about the hour of nine or ten in the evening, Eumenes at first suspected that his intention was to advance into the province of Gabene, which was a fertile country, capable of subsisting numerous armies, and very commodious and secure for the troops, by reason of the rivers and gullies with which it was intersected, and therefore he resolved to prevent his execution of that design. With this view he prevailed, by sums of money, upon some foreign soldiers, to go like deserters into the camp of Antigonus, and acquaint him that Eumenes intended to attack him at night-fall. In the mean time he caused the baggage to be conveyed away, and ordered the troops to take some refreshment, and then march. Antigonus, upon this false intelligence, caused his troops to continue under arms, while Eumenes in the mean time advanced on his way. Antigonus was soon informed by his scouts that Eumenes had decamped, and finding that he

[b] Diod. l. xix. p. 672, 673.

had been over-reached by his enemy, he still persisted in his first intention; and having ordered his troops to strike their tents, he proceeded with so much expedition, that his march resembled a pursuit. But when he saw that it was impossible to advance with his whole army up to Eumenes, who had the start of him, at least six hours, in his march, he left his infantry under the command of Pithon, and proceeded with the cavalry, on a full gallop, and came up by break of day with the rear guard of the enemy, who were descending a hill. He then halted upon the top, and Eumenes, who discovered this body of cavalry, imagined it to be the whole army; upon which he discontinued his march, and formed his troops in order of battle. By these means Antigonus played off a retaliation upon Eumenes, and amused him in his turn; for he prevented the continuance of his march, and gave his own infantry sufficient time to come up.

[a] The two armies were then drawn up; that of Eumenes consisted of thirty-five thousand foot, with above six thousand horse, and a hundred and fourteen elephants. That of Antigonus was composed of twenty-eight thousand foot, eight thousand five hundred horse, and sixty-five elephants. The battle was fought with great obstinacy till the night was far advanced, for the moon was then in the full, but the slaughter was not very considerable on either side. Antigonus lost three thousand seven hundred of his infantry, and fifty four of his horse, and above four thousand of his men were wounded. Eumenes lost five hundred and forty of his infantry, and a very inconsiderable number of his cavalry, and had above nine hundred wounded. The victory was really on his side; but as his troops, notwithstanding all his entreaties, would not return to the field of battle to carry off the dead bodies, which among the ancients was an

[a] Diod. l. xix. p. 673—678.

evidence of victory, it was in consequence attributed to Antigonus, whose army appeared again in the field, and buried the dead. Eumenes sent a herald the next day to desire leave to inter his slain. This was granted him, and he rendered them funeral honours with all possible magnificence.

[4]A very singular dispute arose at the performance of this ceremony. The men happened to find among the slain the body of an Indian officer, who had brought his two wives with him, one of whom he had but lately married. The law of the country, which is said to be still subsisting, would not allow a wife to survive her husband; and if she refused to be burnt with him on the funeral pile, her character was for ever branded with infamy, and she was obliged to continue in a state of widowhood the remainder of her days. She was even condemned to a kind of excommunication, as she was rendered incapable of assisting at any sacrifice, or other religious ceremony. This law, however, mentioned only one wife; but in the present instance there were two; each of whom insisted on being preferred to the other. The eldest pleaded her superiority of years; to which the youngest replied that the law excluded her rival, because she was then pregnant; and the contest was accordingly determined in that manner. The first of them retired with a very dejected air, her eyes bathed in tears, and tearing her hair and garments, as if she had sustained some great calamity. The other, on the contrary, with a mien of joy and triumph, amidst a numerous retinue of her relations and friends, and arrayed in her richest ornaments, as on the day of her nuptials, advanced with a solemn pace, where the funeral ceremonies were to be performed. She there distributed all her jewels among her friends and relations; and, having taken her last farewell, she placed herself on the funeral pile, by the assistance of her

[4] Diod. l. xix. p. 678—680.

own brother, and expired amidst the praises and acclamations of most of the spectators; but some of them, according to the historian, disapproved of this strange custom, as barbarous and inhuman. The action of this woman was undoubtedly a real murder, and might justly be considered as a violation of the most express law of nature, which prohibits all attempts on a person's own life; and commands us not to dispose of it in compliance with the dictates of caprice, nor forget that it is a trust, which ought to be resigned to none but that Being from whom we receive it. Such a sacrifice is so far from deserving to be enumerated among the instances of respect and fondness due to a husband, that it rather treats him as an unrelenting and bloody idol, by the immolation of such precious victims.

[e] During the course of this campaign, the war was maintained with obstinacy on both sides, and Persia and Media were the theatre of its operations. The armies traversed those two great provinces by marches and counter-marches, and each party had recourse to all the art and stratagems that the greatest capacity, in conjunction with a long series of experience in the profession of war, could supply. Eumenes, though he had a mutinous and untractable army to govern, obtained however several advantages over his enemies in this campaign; and when his troops grew impatient for winter-quarters, he had still the dexterity to secure the best in all the province of Gabene, and obliged Antigonus to seek his to the north in Media, where he was incapable of arriving, till after a march of twenty-five days.

[f] The troops of Eumenes were so ungovernable, that he could not prevail upon them to post themselves near enough to each other, to be assembled in haste on any emergency. They absolutely insisted on very distant quarters, which took in the

[e] Diod. l. xix. p. 680—684.

[f] Diod. l. xix. p. 684—688. Plut. in Eumen. p. 592. Cor. Nep. c. viii.—xii.

whole extent of the province, under pretence of being more commodiously stationed, and of having every thing in greater abundance. In a word, they were dispersed at such a distance from each other, that it required several days for re-assembling them in a body. Antigonus, who was informed of this circumstance, marched from a very remote quarter, in the depth of winter, in hopes to surprise these different bodies so dispersed.

Eumenes, however, was not a man that would suffer himself to be surprised in such a manner, but had had the precaution to dispatch, to various parts, spies mounted on dromedaries, the swiftest of all animals, to gain timely intelligence of the enemy's motions; and he had posted them so judiciously, that he received information of this march, before Antigonus could arrive at any of his quarters; this furnished him with an expedient to save his army by a stratagem, when all the other generals looked upon it as lost. He posted the troops who were nearest to him on the mountains that rose toward the quarter from whence the enemies were advancing, and ordered them, the following night, to kindle as many fires as might cause it to be imagined all the army were encamped in that situation. Antigonus was soon informed, by his advanced guard, that those fires were seen at a great distance, upon which he concluded that Eumenes was there encamped with all his forces, and in a condition to receive him. In order, therefore, not to expose his men, who were fatigued by long marches, to an engagement with fresh troops, he caused them to halt, that they might have time to recover themselves a little; by which means Eumenes had all the opportunity that was necessary, for assembling his forces, before the enemy could advance upon him. Antigonus, finding his scheme defeated, and extremely mortified at being thus over-reached, determined to come to an engagement.

The troops of Eumenes being all assembled about

him, were struck with admiration at his extraordinary prudence and ability, and resolved that he should exercise the sole command. Antigenes and Teutames, the two captains who led the Argyraspides, were so exceedingly mortified at a distinction so glorious for Eumenes, that they formed a resolution to destroy him, and drew most of the Satrapæ and principal officers into their conspiracy. Envy is a malady that seldom admits of a cure, and is generally heightened by the remedies administered to it. All the precautions of prudence, moderation, and condescension, which Eumenes employed, were incapable of mollifying the hearts of those barbarians, and extinguishing their jealousy, and he must have renounced his merit and virtue, which alone occasioned it, to have been capable of appeasing them. He frequently lamented to himself his unhappiness in being fated to live, not with men, as his expression was, but with savage beasts. Several conspiracies had already been formed against him, and he daily beheld himself exposed to the same danger. In order to frustrate their effects, if possible, he had borrowed, on various pretexts of pressing necessity, many considerable sums of those who appeared most inveterate against him, that he, at least, might restrain them by the consideration of their own interest, and an apprehension of losing the sums they had lent him, should he happen to perish.

His enemies, however, being now determined to destroy him, held a council, in order to deliberate on the time, place, and means, of accomplishing their intentions. They all agreed to protract his fall, till after the decision of the impending battle, and then to destroy him immediately afterwards. Eudamus, who commanded the elephants, went immediately, with Phædimus, to acquaint Eumenes with this resolution, not from any affection to his person, but only from their apprehensions of losing the money he had borrowed of them. Eumenes

returned them his thanks, and highly applauded their affection and fidelity.

When he returned to his tent, he immediately made his will, and then burnt all his papers, with the letters that had been written to him, because he was unwilling that those who had favoured him with any secret intelligence should be exposed to any accusation or calumny after his death. When he had thus disposed of his affairs, and found himself alone, he deliberated on the conduct he ought to pursue. A thousand contrary thoughts agitated his mind. Could it possibly be prudent in him to repose any confidence in those officers and generals who had sworn his destruction? Might he not lawfully arm against them the zeal and affection of the soldiers, who were inviolably devoted to him? On the other hand, would it not be his best expedient, to pass through Media and Armenia, and retire to Cappadocia, the place of his residence, where he might hope for a sure asylum from danger? Or, in order to avenge himself on those traitors, would it not be better for him to abandon them in the crisis of the battle, and resign the victory to his enemies? For in a situation so desperate as his own, what thoughts will not rise up in the mind of a man reduced to the last extremity by a set of perfidious traitors! This last thought, however, infused a horror into his soul; and as he was determined to discharge his duty to his latest breath, and to combat, to the close of his life, for the prince who had armed him in his cause, he resigned his destiny, says Plutarch, to the will of the gods, and thought only of preparing his troops for the battle.

He had thirty-six thousand seven hundred foot, and above six thousand horse, with a hundred and fourteen elephants. The army of Antigonus was composed of twenty-two thousand foot, nine thousand horse, with a body of Median cavalry, and sixty-five elephants. This general posted his ca-

valry on the two wings, his infantry he disposed in the centre, and formed his elephants into a first line, which extended along the front of the army, and he filled up the intervals between the elephants with light-armed troops. He gave the command of the left wing to Pithon; that of the right he assigned to his son Demetrius, and here he himself was to act in person, at the head of a body of chosen troops. Eumenes drew up his army almost in the same manner; his best troops he disposed into the left wing, and placed himself in their front, in order to oppose Antigonus, and gave the command of the right to Philip.

Before the armies began the charge, he exhorted the Greeks and barbarians to perform their duty well; for as to his phalanx, and the Argyraspides, they so little needed any animating expressions, that they were the first to encourage him with assurances, that the enemy should not wait a moment for them. They were the oldest troops, who had served under Philip and Alexander, and were all veteran champions, whom victory had crowned in a hundred combats; they had hitherto been reputed invincible, and had never been foiled in any action; for which reason they advanced to the troops of Antigonus, and charged them fiercely with this exclamation: "Villains! you now fight with your "fathers!" They then broke in upon the infantry with irresistible fury; not one of the battalions could sustain the shock, and most of them were cut to pieces.

The event was different with respect to the cavalry, for as the engagement between them began on a sandy soil, the motion of the men and horses, raised such a thick cloud of dust, as made them incapable of seeing to the distance of three paces. Antigonus, befriended by this darkness, detached from his cavalry a body of troops superior to that of the enemy, and carried off all their baggage, without their perceiving it, and at the same time broke

in upon their horse. Peucestes, who commanded them, and, till then, had given a thousand proofs of true bravery, fell back, and drew all the rest after him. Eumenes employed all his efforts to rally them, but in vain; the confusion was universal in that quarter, as the advantage had been complete in the other. The capture of the baggage was of more importance to Antigonus, than the victory could be to Eumenes; for the soldiers of this latter, finding, at their return, all their baggage carried off, with their wives and children, instead of employing their swords against the enemy, in order to recover them, which would have been very practicable at that time, and was what Eumenes had promised to accomplish, turned all their fury against their own general.

Having chosen their time, they fell upon him, forced his sword out of his hand, and bound his hands behind him with his own belt. In this condition they led him through the Macedonian phalanx, then drawn up in lines under arms, in order to deliver him up to Antigonus, who had promised to restore them all their baggage on that condition. "Kill me, O soldiers," said Eumenes, as he passed by them, "kill me yourselves, I conjure you in the "name of all the gods! for though I perish by the "command of Antigonus, my death will, however, "be as much your act as if I had fallen by your "swords. If you are unwilling to do me that "office with your own hands, permit me, at least, "to discharge it by one of mine. That shall ren- "der me the service which you refuse me. On this "condition I absolve you from all the severities "you have reason to apprehend from the vengeance "of the gods, for the crime you are preparing to "perpetrate on me."

Upon this they hastened him along to prevent the repetition of such pathetic addresses, which might awaken the affection of the troops for their general.

Most of the soldiers of Antigonus went out to meet him, and scarce a single man was left in his camp. When that illustrious prisoner arrived there, Antigonus had not the courage to see him, because his presence alone would have reproached him in the highest degree. As those who guarded him asked Antigonus in what manner he would have him kept: "As you would an elephant," replied he, "or a lion;" which are two animals most to be dreaded. But within a few days he was touched with compassion, and ordered him to be eased of the weightiest of his chains; he likewise appointed one of his own domestics to serve him, and permitted his friends to see him, and pass whole days in his company. They were also allowed to furnish him with all necessary refreshments.

Antigonus deliberated with himself for some time, in what manner he should treat his prisoner. They had been intimate friends, when they served under Alexander, and the remembrance of that amity rekindled some tender sentiments in his favour, and combated for a while against his interest. His son Demetrius also solicited strongly in his favour; passionately desiring, through mere generosity, that the life of so great a man might be saved. But Antigonus, who was well acquainted with his inflexible fidelity for the family of Alexander, and knew what a dangerous enemy he had in him, and how capable he was of disconcerting all his measures, should he escape from his hands, was too much afraid of him to grant him his life, and therefore ordered him to be destroyed in prison.

Such was the end of the most accomplished man of his age, in every particular, and the worthiest to succeed Alexander the Great. He had not, indeed, the fortune of that monarch, but he, perhaps, was not his inferior in merit. He was truly brave, without temerity; and prudent, without weakness. His descent was but mean, though he was not ashamed of it; and he gradually rose to the highest

stations, and might even have aspired to a throne, if he had either had more ambition or less probity. At a time when intrigues and cabals, inspired by a motive most capable of affecting the human heart, I mean the thirst of empire, knew neither sincerity nor fidelity, nor had any respect to the ties of blood or the rights of friendship, but trampled on the most sacred laws, Eumenes always retained an inviolable fidelity and attachment to the royal family, which no hopes or fears, no vicissitude of fortune, nor any elevation, had power to shake. This very character of probity rendered him insupportable to his colleagues; for it frequently happens,* that virtue creates enmities and aversions, because it seems to reproach those who think in a different manner, and places their defects in too near a view.

He possessed all the military virtues in a supreme degree; complete skill in the art of war, valour, foresight, firmness, a wonderful fertility of invention for stratagems and resources in the most unexpected dangers, and most desperate conjunctures: but I place far above these that character of probity, and those sentiments of honour, which prevailed in him, and which do not always accompany the other shining qualities I have mentioned.

A merit so illustrious and universal, and at the same time so modest, which ought to have excited the esteem and admiration of the other commanders, only gave them offence, and inflamed their envy; a defect too frequently visible in persons of high rank. These Satrapæ, full of themselves, saw with jealousy and indignation, that an officer of no birth, but much better qualified, and more brave and experienced than themselves, had ascended by degrees to the most exalted stations, which they imagined due only to those who were dignified with great names, and descended from ancient and illustrious

* *Industriæ innocentiæque quasi malis artibus infensi—etiam gloria ac virtus infensos habet, ut nimis ex propinquo diversa arguens.* TACIT.

families: *as if true nobility did not consist in merit and virtue.

Antigonus and the whole army celebrated the funeral obsequies of Eumenes with great magnificence, and willingly paid him the utmost honours; his death having extinguished all their envy and fear. They deposited his bones and ashes in an urn of silver, and sent it to his wife and children in Cappadocia; a poor compensation for a desolate widow and her helpless orphans!

SECT. VI. *Seleucus, Ptolemy, Lysimachus, and Cassander, form a confederacy against Antigonus. He deprives Ptolemy of Syria and Phœnicia, and makes himself master of Tyre, after a long siege. Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, begins to distinguish himself in Asia Minor. He loses a first battle, and gains a second. Seleucus takes Babylon. A treaty of peace between the princes is immediately broken. Cassander causes the young king Alexander, and his mother Roxana, to be put to death. Hercules, another son of Alexander the Great, is likewise slain, with his mother Barsina, by Polysperchon. Antigonus causes Cleopatra, the sister of the same Alexander, to be put to death. The revolt of Ophellas in Libya.*

[s] ANTIGONUS, looking upon himself as master of the empire of Asia for the future, made a new regulation in the eastern provinces, for his better security. He discarded all the governors he suspected, and advanced to their places those persons in whom he thought he might confide. He even destroyed several who had rendered themselves formidable to him by their too great merit. Pithon, A. M. 3689. Ant. J. C. 315.

[s] Diod. l. xix. p. 689—692, & 697, 698.

* *Nobilitas sola est atque unica virtus.* Juv.

governor of Media, and Antigenes, general of the Argyraspides, were among these latter. Seleucus, governor of Babylon, was likewise minuted down in his list of proscriptions, but he found means to escape the danger, and threw himself under the protection of Ptolemy in Egypt. As for the Argyraspides, who had betrayed Eumenes, he sent them into Arachosia, the remotest province in the empire; and ordered Syburtius, who governed there, to take such measures as might destroy them all, and that not one of them might ever return to Greece. The just horror he conceived at the infamous manner in which they betrayed their general, contributed not a little to this resolution, though he enjoyed the fruit of their treason without the least scruple or remorse; but a motive, still more prevalent, determined him chiefly to this proceeding. These soldiers were mutinous, untractable, licentious, and averse to all obedience; their example, therefore, was capable of corrupting the other troops, and even of destroying him, by a new instance of treachery: he therefore was resolved to exterminate them without hesitation.

A. M. 3690. Ant. J. C. 314. [h] Seleucus knew how to represent the formidable power of Antigonus so effectually to Ptolemy, that he engaged him in a league with Lysimachus and Cassander, whom he had also convinced, by the information which he had sent them, of the danger they had reason to apprehend from the power of that prince. Antigonus was very sensible that Seleucus would not fail to solicit them into measures against his interest, for which reason he sent an embassy to each of the three, to renew the good intelligence between them, by new assurances of his friendship. But what confidence could be reposed in such assurances from a perfidious man, who had lately destroyed so many governors, from no inducement but the ambition of reigning alone at the expence of all his colleagues? The answers

[h] Diod. l. xix. p. 698—700.

therefore which he received, made him sufficiently sensible, that it was incumbent on him to prepare for war: upon which he quitted the East, and advanced into Cilicia, with very considerable treasures which he had drawn from Babylon and Susa. He there raised new levies, regulated several affairs in the provinces of Asia Minor, and then marched into Syria and Phœnicia.

[1] His design was to dispossess Ptolemy of those two provinces, and make himself master of their maritime forces, which were absolutely necessary for him in the war he was preparing to undertake against the confederates. For unless he could be master at sea, and have at least the ports and vessels of the Phœnicians at his disposal, he could never expect any success against them. He, however, arrived too late to surprise the ships; for Ptolemy had already sent to Egypt all that could be found in Phœnicia, and it was even with difficulty that Antigonus made himself master of the ports; for Tyre, Joppa, and Gaza, opposed him with all their forces. The two last, indeed, were soon taken, but a considerable length of time was necessary for the reduction of Tyre.

However, as he was already master of all the other ports of Syria and Phœnicia, he immediately gave orders for building vessels; and a vast number of trees were cut down, for that purpose, on mount Libanus, which was covered with cedar and cypress trees of extraordinary beauty and height, and they were conveyed to the different ports where the ships were to be built, in which work he employed several thousand men. At length, with these ships, and others that joined him from Cyprus, Rhodes, and some other cities with which he had contracted an alliance, he formed a considerable fleet, and rendered himself master of the sea.

His ardour for this work was redoubled by an

[1] Diod. l. xix. p. 700—703.

affront he had received from Seleucus, who, with a hundred ships that Ptolemy had sent him, sailed up to Tyre, in sight of all the forces of Antigonus, with an intention to brave him whilst he was engaged in the siege of that city. And in reality this insult had greatly discouraged his troops, and given his allies such an impression of his weakness as was very injurious to him. In order, therefore, to prevent the effect of those disadvantageous opinions, he sent for the principal allies, and assured them he would have such a fleet at sea that summer, as should be superior to the naval force of all his enemies, and he was punctual to his promise before the expiration of the year.

A.M. 3691. Ant. J.C. 313. But when he perceived, that while he was thus employed in Phœnicia, Cassander gained upon him in Asia Minor, he marched thither with part of his troops, and left the rest with his son Demetrius, who was then but twenty-two years of age, to defend Syria and Phœnicia against Ptolemy. This Demetrius will be much celebrated in the sequel of this history, and I shall soon point out his particular character.

[k] Tyre was then reduced to the last extremities; the fleet of Antigonus cut off all communication of provisions, and the city was soon obliged to capitulate. The garrison which Ptolemy had there, obtained permission to march out with all their effects, and the inhabitants were promised the enjoyment of theirs without molestation. Andronicus, who commanded at the siege, was transported with gaining a place of such importance on any conditions whatever; especially after a siege which had harassed his troops so exceedingly for fifteen months.

Nineteen years only had elapsed since Alexander had destroyed this city, in such a manner as made it natural to believe it would require whole ages to re-establish it; and yet in so short a time

[k] Diod. l. xix. p. 703.

it became capable of sustaining this new siege, which lasted more than as long again as that of Alexander. This circumstance discovers the great resources derived from commerce; for this was the only expedient by which Tyre rose out of its ruins, and recovered most of its former splendour. This city was then the centre of all the traffic of the East and West.

[1] Demetrius, who now began to be known, and will in the sequel be surnamed Poliorcetes,* which signifies *taker of cities*, was the son of Antigonus. He was finely made, and of uncommon beauty. Sweetness, blended with gravity, was visible in his aspect,† and he had an air of serenity, intermixed with something which carried awe along with it. Vivacity of youth in him was tempered with a majestic mien, and an air truly royal and heroic. The same mixture was likewise observable in his manners, which were equally qualified to charm and astonish. When he had no affairs to transact, his intercourse with his friends was enchanting. Nothing could equal the sumptuousness of his feasts, his luxury, and his whole manner of living; and it may be justly said, that he was the most magnificent, the most voluptuous, and the most delicate of all princes. On the other hand, however alluring all these soft pleasures might appear to him, when he had any enterprise to undertake, he was the most active and vigilant of mankind: nothing but his patience and assiduity in fatigue were equal to his vivacity and courage. Such is the character of the young prince who now begins to appear upon the stage of action.

[1] Plut. in Demet. p. 889, 890.

* The word is derived from πολιορκεῖν, to besiege a city, whose root is πόλις, a city, and ἕρκος, a fence, a rampart, a bulwark.

† Τὸ γὰρ αὐτὸ χάριν καὶ βάρος, καὶ φόβον καὶ ὥραν εἶχε, καὶ συνεκέκρατο τῷ νεαρῷ καὶ ἰταμῷ δυσμίμητος ἡ ἐωϊκή τις ἐπιφάνεια καὶ βασιλικὴ σεμνότης.

Plutarch remarks in him, as a peculiarity which distinguished him from the other princes of his time, his profound respect for his parents, which neither flowed from affectation nor ceremony, but was sincere and real, and the growth of the heart itself. Antigonus, on his part, had a tenderness and affection for his son, that was truly paternal, and extended even to familiarity, though without any diminution of the authority of the sovereign and the father; and this created an union and confidence between them entirely free from all fear and suspicion. Plutarch relates an instance of it. One day when Antigonus was engaged in giving audience to some ambassadors, Demetrius, returning from the chase, advanced into the great hall, where he saluted his father with a kiss, and then seated himself at his side, with his darts in his hand. Antigonus had just given the ambassadors their answer, and was dismissing them; but he called them back, and said aloud, "You may likewise in-"form your masters of the manner in which my "son and I live together;" intimating thereby, that he was not afraid to let his son approach him with arms,* and that this good understanding that subsisted between him and his son, constituted the greatest strength of his dominions, at the same time that it affected him with the most sensible pleasure. But to return to our subject.

[m] Antigonus having passed into Asia Minor, soon stopped the progress of Cassander's arms, and pressed him so vigorously, that he obliged him to come to an accommodation, on very disgraceful terms; in consequence of which the treaty was hardly concluded before he repented of his accession to it, and broke it, by demanding succours of Ptolemy and Seleucus, and renewing the war. The

[m] Diod. l. xix. p. 710.

* Neither the Greeks nor Romans ever wore arms but in war, or when they hunted.

violation of treaties was considered as nothing, by the generality of those princes whose history I am now writing. These unworthy expedients, which are justly thought dishonourable in private persons, appeared to them as so many circumstances essential to their glory. They applauded themselves for their perfidious measures, as if they had been instances of their abilities in government; and were never sensible that such proceedings would teach their troops to be wanting in their fidelity to them, and leave themselves destitute of any pretext of complaint against their own subjects, who, by revolting from their authority, only trod in the same paths which they themselves had already marked out. By such contagious examples, a whole age is soon corrupted, and learns to renounce, without a blush, all sentiments of honour and probity, because that which is once become common, no longer appears shameful.

The renewal of this war detained Antigonus in those parts longer than he intended, and afforded Ptolemy an opportunity of obtaining considerable advantages over him in another quarter.

[a] He first sailed with his fleet to the isle of Cyprus, and reduced the greatest part of it to his obedience. Nicocles, king of Paphos, one of the cities of that island, submitted to him like the rest, but made a secret alliance with Antigonus a year or two after. Ptolemy received intelligence of this proceeding; and, in order to prevent the other princes from imitating his example, he ordered some of his officers in Cyprus to destroy him; but they being unwilling to execute that commission themselves, earnestly entreated Nicocles to prevent it by a voluntary death. The unhappy prince consented to the proposal, and, seeing himself utterly destitute of defence, became his own executioner. But though Ptolemy had commanded those officers to

[a] Diod. l. xx. p. 761.

treat the queen Axithea, and the other princesses whom they found in the palace of Nicocles, with the respect due to their rank, yet they could not prevent them from following the example of the unfortunate king. The queen, after she had slain her daughters with her own hands, and exhorted the other princesses not to survive the calamity by which their unhappy brother fell, plunged her dagger into her own bosom. The death of these princesses was succeeded by that of their husbands, who, before they slew themselves, set fire to the four corners of the palace. Such was the dreadful and bloody scene which was acted at Cyprus.

Ptolemy, after having made himself master of that island, made a descent into Syria, and from thence proceeded to Cilicia, where he acquired great spoils, and took a large number of prisoners, whom he carried with him into Egypt. Seleucus imparted to him, at his return, a project for regaining Syria and Phœnicia, and the execution of it was agreed to be undertaken. Ptolemy accordingly marched thither in person with a fine army, after he had happily suppressed a revolt which had been kindled among the Cyreneans, and found Demetrius at Gaza, who opposed his entrance into that place. This occasioned a sharp engagement, in which Ptolemy was at last victorious. Demetrius had five thousand of his men killed, and eight thousand more made prisoners: he likewise lost his tents, his treasure, and all his equipage, and was obliged to retreat as far as Azotus, and from thence to Tripoli, a city of Phœnicia, on the frontiers of Upper Syria, and to abandon all Phœnicia, Palestine, and Cœlesyria to Ptolemy.

A. M. 3692. Ant. J. C. 312.

Before his departure from Azotus, he desired leave to bury the dead, which Ptolemy not only granted, but also sent him back all his equipage, tents, furniture, friends, and domestics, without any ransom, with a message, "That they ought not to "make war against each other for riches, but for

" glory;" and it was impossible for a Pagan to think better. May we not likewise say, that he uttered his real sentiments? Demetrius, touched with so obliging an instance of generosity, immediately begged of the gods not to leave him long indebted to Ptolemy for so great a kindness, but to furnish him with an opportunity of making him a similar return.

Ptolemy sent the rest of the prisoners into Egypt, to serve him in his fleet, and then pursued his conquests. All the coasts of Phœnicia submitted to him except the city of Tyre; upon which he sent a secret message to Andronicus, the governor of that place, and one of the bravest officers of Antigonus, and the most attached to the service of his master, to induce him to abandon the city with a good grace, and not oblige him to besiege it in form. Andronicus, who depended on the Tyrians' fidelity to Antigonus, returned a haughty and even an insulting and contemptuous answer to Ptolemy; but he was deceived in his expectations, for the garrison and inhabitants compelled him to surrender. He then imagined himself inevitably lost, and that nothing could make a conqueror forget the insolence with which he had treated him; but he was again deceived. The king of Egypt, instead of making any reprisals upon an officer who had insulted him with so much indignity, made it a kind of duty to engage him in his service by the regard he professed for him when he was introduced to salute him.

Demetrius was not discouraged with the loss of the battle, as a young prince who had been so unfortunate in his first enterprise might naturally have been; but he employed all his attention in raising fresh troops and making new preparations, with all the steadiness and resolution of a consummate general habituated to the art of war, and to the inconstancy and vicissitudes of arms; in a word, he fortified the cities, and was continually exercising his soldiers.

Antigonus received intelligence of the loss of that battle without any visible emotion, and he coldly said, "Ptolemy has defeated boys, but he shall soon "have men to deal with;" and as he was unwilling to abate the courage and ardour of his son, he complied with his request of making a second trial of his strength against Ptolemy.

A. M. 3693. Ant. J. C. 311. [o] A short time after this event, Cilles, Ptolemy's lieutenant, arrived with a numerous army, fully persuaded that he should drive Demetrius out of Syria; for he had entertained a very contemptible opinion of him from his defeat: but Demetrius, who had known how to derive advantages from his misfortune, and was now become more circumspect and attentive, fell upon him when he least expected it, and made himself master of his camp and all his baggage, took seven thousand of his men prisoners, even seized him with his own hands, and carried off a great booty. The glory and riches Demetrius had acquired by this victory affected him less than the pleasure of being in a condition to acquit himself of his debt towards his enemy, and return the obligation he had received from him. He would not, however, act in this manner by his own authority, but wrote an account of the whole affair to his father, who permitted him to act as he should judge proper. Upon which he immediately sent back Cilles, with all his friends, laden with magnificent presents, and with them all the baggage he had taken. There is certainly something very noble in thus vying in generosity with an enemy; and it was a disposition still more estimable, especially in a young and victorious prince, to make it a point of glory to depend entirely upon his father, and to take no measures in such a conjuncture without consulting him.

[p] Seleucus, after the victory obtained over Demetrius at Gaza, had obtained a thousand foot and three hundred horse from Ptolemy, and proceeded

[o] Diod. l. xix. p. 729. [p] Ibid. p. 726—728.

with this small escort to the East, with an intention to re-enter Babylon. When he arrived at Carrhæ, in Mesopotamia, he made the Macedonian garrison join his troops, partly by consent and partly by compulsion. As soon as his approach to Babylon was known, his ancient subjects came in great numbers to range themselves under his ensigns; for the moderation of his government had rendered him greatly beloved in that province, whilst the severity of Antigonus was universally detested. The people were charmed at his return, and the hopes of his re-establishment. When he arrived at Babylon he found the gates open, and was received with the general acclamations of the people. Those who favoured the party of Antigonus retired into the castle; but as Seleucus was master of the city and the affections of the people, he soon made himself master of that fortress, and there found his children, friends, and domestics, whom Antigonus had detained prisoners in that place ever since the retreat of Seleucus into Egypt.

It was immediately judged necessary to raise a good army to defend these acquisitions; and he was hardly reinstated in Babylon before Nicanor, the governor of Media under Antigonus, was upon his march to dislodge him. Seleucus having received intelligence of this, passed the Tigris in order to meet him, and he had the good fortune to surprise him in a disadvantageous post, where he assaulted his camp by night, and entirely defeated his army. Nicanor was compelled to fly, with a small number of his friends, and to cross the deserts before he could arrive at the place where Antigonus then was. All the troops, who had escaped from the defeat, declared for Seleucus, either through dissatisfaction to serve under Antigonus, or else from apprehensions of the conqueror. Seleucus was now master of a fine army, which he employed in the conquest of Media and Susiana, with the other adjacent provinces, by which means he ren-

dered himself very powerful. The lenity of his government, his justice, equity, and humanity to all his subjects, contributed principally to the establishment of his power; and he was then sensible how advantageous it is for a prince to treat his people in that manner, and to possess their affections. He had arrived in his own territories with a handful of men, but the love of his people was equivalent to an army; and he not only assembled a vast body of them about him in a short time, but they were likewise rendered invincible by their affection for him.

A. M. 3693. Ant. J.C. 311. With this entry into Babylon commences the famous æra of the Seleucidæ, received by all the people of the East, as well Pagans as Jews, Christians, and Mahommedans. The Jews call it the Æra of Contracts, because when they were subjected to the government of the Syro-Macedonian kings, they were obliged to insert it into the dates of their contracts and other civil writings. The Arabians style it the Æra of the Double-horned, by which, according to some authors, they denote Seleucus, whom sculptors usually represented with two horns of an ox on his head, because this prince was so strong, that he could seize that animal by the horns and stop him short in his full career. The two books of the Maccabees call it the Æra of the Greeks, and use it in their dates; with this difference, however, that the first of these books represents it as beginning in the spring, the other in the autumn of the same year. The thirty-one years of the reign ascribed to Seleucus, begin at this period.

[q] Antigonus was at Celænæ in Phrygia, when he received intelligence of the victory obtained by his son Demetrius over the troops of Ptolemy; and immediately advanced to Syria, in order to secure all the advantages that were presented to him by that event.

[q] Diod. l. xix. p. 729.

He crossed mount Taurus, and joined his son, whom he tenderly embraced at the first interview, shedding at the same time tears of joy. Ptolemy, being sensible that he was not strong enough to oppose the united forces of the father and son, resolved to demolish the fortifications of Aco, Joppa, Samaria, and Gaza; after which he retired into Egypt, with the greatest part of the riches of the country, and a numerous train of the inhabitants. In this manner was all Phœnicia, Judæa, and Cœle-syria, subjected a second time to the power of Antigonus.

[r] The inhabitants of these provinces who were carried off by Ptolemy, followed him more out of inclination than by constraint; and the moderation and humanity with which he always treated those who submitted to his government, had gained their hearts so effectually, that they were more desirous of living under him in a foreign country than of continuing in their own subject to Antigonus, from whom they had no expectations of so gentle a treatment. They were likewise strengthened in this resolution by the advantageous proposals of Ptolemy; for, as he then intended to make Alexandria the capital of Egypt, he was very desirous of drawing inhabitants thither, and for this purpose he offered them extraordinary privileges and immunities. He, therefore, settled in that city most of those who followed him on this occasion, among whom was a numerous body of Jews. Alexander had formerly placed many of that nation there; but Ptolemy, in his return from one of his first expeditions, planted a much greater number in that city than Alexander himself, and they there found a fine country and a powerful protection. The rumour of these advantages being propagated through all Judæa, rendered many more desirous of establishing themselves at Alexandria; and they accomplished that design upon this occasion. Alex-

[r] Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 1. & contr. Appion. l. i. & ii.

ander had granted the Jews who settled there under his government, the same privileges as were enjoyed by the Macedonians; and Ptolemy pursued the same conduct with respect to this new colony. In a word, he settled such a number of them there, that the quarter inhabited by the Jews almost formed an entire city of itself. A large body of Samaritans also established themselves there, on the same footing with the Jews, and increased exceedingly in numbers.

[a] Antigonus, after he had repossessed himself of Syria and Judæa, sent Athenæus, one of his generals, against the Nabathæan Arabs, a nation of robbers, who had made several inroads into the country he had newly conquered, and had lately carried off a very large booty. Their capital city was Petra, so called by the Greeks, because it was situated on a high rock, in the middle of a desert country. Athenæus made himself master of the place, and likewise of the spoils deposited in it; but the Arabs attacked him by surprise in his retreat, and defeated the greatest part of his troops; they likewise killed him on the spot, regained all the booty, and carried it back to Petra, from whence they wrote a letter to Antigonus, who was then in Syria, complaining of the injustice with which they had been treated by Athenæus. Antigonus pretended at first to disapprove his proceedings; but as soon as he had assembled his troops, he gave the command of them to his son Demetrius, with orders to chastise the insolence of those robbers: but as this prince found it impracticable to force them in their retreat, or retake Petra, he contented himself with making the best treaty he could with this people, and then marched back with his troops.

A. M. 3693. Ant. J. C. 311. [b] Antigonus, upon the intelligence he received from Nicanor of the success of Seleucus in the East, sent his son Demetrius thither at the head of an army,

[a] Diod. l. xix. p. 730—733.
[b] Ibid. p. 735, 736. Plut. in Demetr. p. 891.

to drive him out of Babylon, and dispossess him of that province, while he himself advanced to the coasts of Asia Minor, to oppose the operations of the confederate princes, whose power daily increased. He likewise ordered his son to join him, after he had executed his commission in the East. Demetrius, in conformity to his father's directions, assembled an army at Damascus, and marched to Babylon; and as Seleucus was then in Media, he entered the city without any opposition. Patroclus, who had been intrusted with the government of that city by Seleucus, finding himself not strong enough to resist Demetrius, retired with his troops into the marshes, where the rivers, canals, and fens that covered him, made the approach impracticable. He had the precaution, when he left Babylon, to cause the inhabitants also to retire from thence, who all took refuge, some on the other side of the Tigris, others in the deserts, and the rest in places of security.

Demetrius caused the castles to be attacked, of which there were two in Babylon, very large, and strengthened with good garrisons, on the two opposite banks of the Euphrates. One of these he took, and placed in it a garrison of seven thousand men. The other sustained the siege till Antigonus ordered his son to join him. This prince, therefore, left Archelaus, one of the principal officers of the army, with a thousand horse and five thousand foot, to continue the siege, and marched with the rest of the troops into Asia Minor, to reinforce his father.

Before his departure, he caused Babylon to be plundered; but this action proved to be detrimental to his father's affairs, and attached the inhabitants more than ever to Seleucus; even those who, till then, had espoused the interest of Antigonus, never imagined that the city would be treated in that manner, if he ever intended to return thither, and looked upon this pillage as an act of

desertion, and a formal declaration of his having entirely abandoned them: this induced them to turn their thoughts to an accommodation with Seleucus, and they accordingly went over to his party; by which means Seleucus, upon his return, which immediately followed the departure of Demetrius, had no difficulty in driving out the few troops that Demetrius had left in the city, and he retook the castle which they possessed. When this event was accomplished, he established his authority in such a solid manner, that nothing was capable of shaking it. This therefore is the epocha to which the Babylonians refer the foundation of his kingdom, though all the other nations of Asia place it six months sooner, and in the preceding year.

[u] Demetrius, upon his arrival in Asia Minor, obliged Ptolemy to raise the siege of Halicarnassus; and this event was succeeded by a treaty of peace between the confederate princes and Antigonus; by which it was stipulated, that Cassander should have the management of the Macedonian affairs, till Alexander, the son of Roxana, was of age to reign. Lysimachus was to have Thrace; Ptolemy, Egypt, and the frontiers of Libya, with Arabia; and all Asia was allotted to Antigonus. All the cities of Greece were likewise to enjoy their liberty; but this accommodation was of no long duration: and indeed it is surprising that princes, so well acquainted with each other, and sensible that the sacred solemnity of oaths was only employed for their mutual delusion, should expect any success from an expedient that had been practised so frequently in vain, and was then so much disregarded. This treaty was hardly concluded, before each party complained that it was infringed, and hostilities were renewed. The true reason was, the extraordinary power of Antigonus, which daily increased, and became so formidable to the other three, that they were

[u] Diod. l. xix. p. 739. Plut. in Demet. p. 892.

incapable of enjoying any satisfaction till they had reduced him.

It was manifest that they were only solicitous for their own interest, and had no regard for the family of Alexander. The Macedonians began to be impatient; and declared aloud, that it was time for them to cause the young Alexander to appear upon the stage of action, as he was then fourteen years of age, and to bring him out of prison, in order to make him acquainted with public business. Cassander, who foresaw in this proceeding the destruction of his own measures, caused the young king, and his mother Roxana, to be secretly put to death in the castle of Amphipolis, where he had confined them for some years.

[x] Polysperchon, who governed in Peloponnesus, took this opportunity to declare openly against the conduct of Cassander, and made the people sensible of the enormous wickedness of this action, with a view of rendering him odious to the Macedonians, and entirely supplanting him in their affections. As he had then thoughts of re-entering Macedonia, from whence he had been driven by Cassander, he affected an air of great zeal for the house of Alexander; and in order to render it apparent, he caused Hercules, another son of Alexander by Barsina, the widow of Memnon, and who was then about seventeen years of age, to be brought from Pergamus, upon which he himself advanced with an army, and proposed to the Macedonians to place him upon the throne. Cassander was terrified at this proceeding, and represented to him, at an interview between them, that he was preparing to raise himself a master; but that it would be more for his interest to remove Hercules out of the way, and secure the sovereignty of Greece to himself, offering, at the same time, his own assistance for that purpose. This discourse easily prevailed upon

A. M. 3674. Ant. J. C. 310.

[x] Diod. l. xx. p. 760, 761, & 786, 787.

him to sacrifice the young prince to Cassander, as he was now persuaded that he should derive great advantages from his death. Hercules, therefore, and his mother, suffered the same fate from him the next year, as Roxana and her son had before from Cassander; and each of these wretches sacrificed, in his turn, an heir of the crown, in order to share it between themselves.

A. M. 3695. Ant. J C. 309.

As there was now no prince of Alexander's house left, each of them retained his government with the authority of a sovereign, and were persuaded that they had effectually secured their acquisitions, by the murder of those princes who alone had a lawful title to them, congratulating themselves for having extinguished in their own minds all remains of respect for the memory of Alexander, their master and benefactor, which till then had held their hands. Who, without horror, could behold an action so perfidious, and, at the same time, so shameful and base! But such was the insensibility of them both, that they were equally forward to felicitate themselves on the success of an impious confederacy, which ended in the effusion of their master's blood. The blackest of all crimes never cost the ambitious any remorse, provided they conduce to their ends.

[y] Ptolemy having commenced the war anew, took several cities from Antigonus in Cilicia and other parts; but Demetrius soon regained what his father had lost in Cilicia: and the other generals of Antigonus had the same success against those of Ptolemy, who did not command this expedition in person. Cyprus was now the only territory where Ptolemy preserved his conquests; for when he had caused Nicocles, king of Paphos, to suffer death, he entirely crushed the party of Antigonus in that island.

[z] In order to obtain some compensation for what

[y] Diod. l. xx. p. 760. [z] Ibid. p. 766.

he had lost in Cilicia, he invaded Pamphylia, Lycia, and some other provinces of Asia Minor, where he took several places from Antigonus.

[a] He then sailed into the Ægean sea, and made himself master of the isle of Andros; after which he took Sicyon, Corinth, and some other cities. A. M. 3696. Ant. J. C. 308.

During his continuance in those parts, he formed an intimate correspondence with Cleopatra, the sister of Alexander. She had espoused Alexander, king of Epirus, at whose nuptials Philip had been assassinated, and after the death of her consort, who was slain in the wars of Italy, had continued in a state of widowhood, and, for several years, had resided at Sardis in Lydia. As Antigonus, who was master of that city, did not treat her with due attention and respect, Ptolemy artfully took advantage of her discontent, to gain her over to his interest. With this intention he invited her to an interview, in hopes of deriving, from her presence, some advantages against Antigonus. The princess had already set out, but the governor of Sardis caused her to be stopped and immediately brought back, and shortly after, by the command of Antigonus, caused her to be secretly destroyed. Antigonus, soon after this event, came to Sardis, where he ordered all the women who had been instrumental in her murder, to be proceeded against.

We may here behold with admiration, how heavily the arm of the Almighty fell upon the race of Alexander, and with what severity it pursued the small remains of his family, and all those who had the misfortune to be any way related to that famous conqueror, whose favour was ardently courted by all the world a few years before. A fatal curse consumed his whole family, and avenged upon it all the acts of violence which had been committed by that prince. GOD even used the ministration of his courtiers, officers, and domestics, to render the se-

[a] Diod. l. xx. p. 774, 775.

verity of his judgments visible to all mankind, who, by these means, received some kind of reparation for the calamities they had suffered from Alexander.

Antigonus, though he was the minister of the Deity in the execution of his just decrees, was not the less criminal on that account, because he acted only from motives of ambition and cruelty, of the enormity of which he was himself sensible, and which he wished he could be capable of concealing from the observation of mankind. He celebrated the funeral of Cleopatra, with extraordinary magnificence, hoping, by this plausible exterior, to dazzle the eyes of the public, and avoid the hatred due to so black a crime. But such deep hypocrisy as this usually discovers the crime it labours to conceal, and only increases the just horror the world generally entertains for those who have committed it.

This barbarous and unmanly action was not the only one that Antigonus committed. Seleucus and Ptolemy raised the superstructure of their power on the clemency and justice with which they governed their people; and, by these expedients, established lasting empires, which continued in their families for several generations: but the character of Antigonus was of a different cast. It was a maxim with him, to remove all obstacles to his designs, without the least regard to justice or humanity; in consequence of which, when that brutal and tyrannical force, by which alone he had supported himself, came to fail him, he lost both life and empire.

Ptolemy, with all the wisdom and moderation of his government, was not secure from revolts. The treachery of Ophellas, governor of Libya and Cyrenaica, who formed an insurrection much about this time, gave him a just cause for inquietude; but it happened very fortunately to be attended with no bad effect. This officer had served first under Alexander, and, after the death of that prince, had embraced the interest of Ptolemy, whom he followed into Egypt. Ptolemy had intrusted him with the

command of the army which was intended for the reduction of Libya and Cyrenaica, provinces that had been allotted to him, as well as Egypt and Arabia, in the partition of the empire. When those two provinces were subdued, Ptolemy conferred the government of them upon Ophellas; who, when he was sensible that this prince was too much engaged with Antigonus and Demetrius to give him any apprehensions, had rendered himself independent, and continued, till this year, in the peaceable enjoyment of his usurpation.

A. M. 3697. Ant. J. C. 307.

Agathocles, king of Sicily, having marched into Africa to attack the Carthaginians, endeavoured to engage Ophellas in his interest, and promised to assist him in the conquest of all Africa for himself. Ophellas, seduced by so grateful a proposal, joined Agathocles with an army of twenty thousand men in the Carthaginian territories; but he had scarce arrived there before the perfidious wretch who had drawn him thither, caused him to be slain, and kept his army in his own service. The history of the Carthaginians will inform the reader in what manner this black instance of treachery succeeded. Ptolemy, upon the death of Ophellas, recovered Libya and Cyrenaica. The wife of the latter was an Athenian lady of uncommon beauty; her name was Eurydice, and she was descended from Miltiades. After the death of her husband she returned to Athens, where Demetrius saw her the following year, and espoused her.

SECT. VII. *Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, besieges and takes Athens, and establishes a democracy in that city. Demetrius Phalereus, who commanded there, retires to Thebes. He is condemned to suffer death, and his statues are thrown down. He retires into Egypt. The excessive honours rendered by the Athenians to Antigonus and his son Demetrius. This latter obtains a great naval victory over Ptolemy, takes Salamis, and makes himself master of all the island of Cyprus. Antigonus and Demetrius assume the title of Kings after this victory, and their example is followed by the other princes. Antigonus forms an enterprise against Egypt, which proves unsuccessful.*

A. M. 3698. Ant. J. C. 306. [b] ANTIGONUS and Demetrius had formed a design to restore liberty to all Greece, which was kept in a kind of slavery by Cassander, Ptolemy, and Polysperchon. These confederate princes, in order to subject the Greeks, had judged it expedient to establish, in all the cities they conquered, aristocracy, that is, the government of the rich and powerful; and it corresponds, the most of any, with regal authority. Antigonus, to engage the people in his interest, had recourse to a contrary method, by substituting a democracy, which more effectually soothed the inclination of the Greeks, by lodging the power in the hands of the people. This conduct was a renewal of the policy which had been so frequently employed against the Lacedæmonians by the Athenians and Persians, and had always succeeded; and it was impossible for it to be ineffectual in this conjuncture, if supported by a good army. Antigonus could not enter upon his measures

[b] Plut in Demetr. p. 892—894.

in a better manner, than by opening the scene with the signal of democratic liberty in Athens; which was not only the most jealous of it, but was likewise at the head of all the other republics.

When the siege of Athens had been resolved upon, Antigonus was told by one of his friends, that if he should happen to take that city, he ought to keep it for himself, as the key of all Greece; but he stern[illegible] rejected that proposal, and replied, "That "the best and strongest key which he knew, was "the friendship of the people; and that Athens, "being in a manner the light by which all the world "steered, would not fail to spread through all quar- "ters the glory of his actions." It is very surprising to see in what manner princes, who are very unjust and self-interested, can sometimes borrow the language of equity and generosity, and are solicitous of doing themselves honour, by assuming the appearance of virtues to which, in reality, they are utter strangers.

Demetrius set out for Athens with five thousand talents, and a fleet of two hundred and fifty ships. Demetrius Phalereus had commanded in that city for the space of ten years, in the name, and under the authority of Cassander; and the republic, as I have already observed, never experienced a juster government, or enjoyed a series of greater tranquillity and happiness. The citizens, in gratitude to his administration, had erected as many statues to his honour as there are days in the year, namely, three hundred and sixty, for at that time the year, according to Pliny,* did not exceed this number of days. An honour like this had never been granted to any citizen.

When the fleet of Demetrius approached, all the inhabitants prepared for its reception, believing the ships belonged to Ptolemy; but when the captains

* *Nondum anno hunc numerum dierum excedente.* PLIN. l. xxxiv. c. 6.

and principal officers were at last undeceived, they immediately had recourse to arms for their defence; every place was filled with tumult and confusion, the Athenians being reduced to a sudden and unexpected necessity of repelling an enemy who advanced upon them without being discovered, and had already made a descent; for Demetrius had entered the port, which he found entirely open, and might easily be distinguished on the deck of his galley, where with his hand he made a signal to the people to keep themselves quiet, and afford him an audience. The tumult being then calmed, he caused them to be informed aloud by a herald, who placed himself at his side, "That his father Antigonus had sent him under happy auspices, to reinstate the Athenians in the possession of their liberty; to drive the garrison out of their citadel, and to re-establish their laws, and ancient plan of government."

The Athenians, at this proclamation, cast their bucklers down at their feet, and clapping their hands with loud acclamations of joy, pressed Demetrius to descend from his galley, and called him their preserver and benefactor. Those who were then with Demetrius Phalereus, were unanimously of opinion, that, as the son of Antigonus was already master of the city, it would be better to receive him, though they should even be certain that he would not perform any one article of what he had promised; upon which they immediately dispatched ambassadors to him with a tender of their submission.

Demetrius received them in a gracious manner, and gave them a very favourable audience; and in order to convince them of his good disposition towards them, he gave them Aristodemus of Miletus, one of his father's most intimate friends, as a hostage, at their dismission. He was likewise careful to provide for the safety of Demetrius Phalereus; who, in consequence of this revolution, had more

reason to be apprehensive of his citizens, than even of the enemies themselves. The reputation and virtue of this great man had inspired the young prince with the utmost respect for his person; and he sent him with a sufficient guard to Thebes, in compliance with his own request. He then told the Athenians that he was determined not to see their city; nor so much as enter within the walls, however desirous he might be to visit them, till he had entirely freed the inhabitants from subjection, by driving out the garrison that encroached upon their liberties. At the same time he ordered a large ditch to be opened, and raised strong intrenchments before the fortress of Munychia, to deprive it of all communication with the city; after which he embarked for Megara, where Cassander had placed a strong garrison.

When he arrived at that city, he was informed that Cratesipolis, the wife of Alexander the son of Polysperchon, who was greatly celebrated for her beauty, then resided at Patræ, and was extremely desirous to see him, and be at his devotion. He therefore left his army in the territories of Megara, and having selected a small number of persons, most disposed to attend him, he set out for Patræ; and, when he had arrived within a small distance of that city, he secretly withdrew himself from his attendants, and caused a pavilion to be erected in a private place, that Cratesipolis might not be seen when she came to him. A party of the enemy happening to be apprised of this imprudent proceeding, marched against him when he least expected such a visit, and he had but just time to disguise himself in a mean habit, and elude the danger by a precipitate flight; so that he was on the point of being taken in the most ignominious manner, on account of his incontinence. The enemy seized his tent, with the riches that were in it.

The city of Megara being taken, the soldiers demanded leave to plunder the inhabitants; but the

Athenians interceded for them so effectually, that the city was saved. Demetrius drove out the garrison of Cassander, and reinstated Megara in its liberties. Stilpon,* a celebrated philosopher lived in that city, and was sent for by Demetrius, who asked him if he had not lost something? "Nothing "at all," replied Stilpon, "for I carry all my effects "about me;" meaning by that expression, his justice probity, temperance, and wisdom; with the advantage of not ranking any thing in the class of blessings that could be taken from him. What could all the kings of the earth do in conjunction against such a man as this, who neither desires nor dreads any thing, and who has been taught by philosophy not to consider death itself as a calamity!

Though the city was saved from pillage, yet all the slaves in general were taken and carried off by the conquerors. Demetrius, on the day of his quitting Megara, after having showed the strongest marks of regard to Stilpon, told him that he left the city to him in an entire state of freedom. "What "you say, my lord, is certainly true," replied the philosopher, "for you have not left so much as one "slave in it."

Demetrius, when he returned to Athens, posted his troops before the port of Munychia, and carried on the siege with so much vigour, that he soon drove out the garrison, and razed the fort. The Athenians, after this event, entreated him with great importunity to come and refresh himself in the city; upon which he accordingly entered it, and then assembled the people, to whom he restored

* *Megara Demetrius ceperat, cui cognomen Poliorcetes fuit. Ab hoc Stilpon philosophus interrogatus, num quid perdidisset: Nihil, inquit; omnia namque mea mecum sunt—Habebat enim secum vera bona in quæ non est manûs injectio—Hæc sunt, justitia, virtus, temperantia, prudentia; et hoc ipsum, nihil bonum putare quod eripi possit.—Cogita nunc, an huic quisquam facere injuriam possit, cui bellum, et hostis ille egregiam artem quassandarum urbium professus, eripere nihil potuit,* SENEC. de Const. sap. c. v. & Ep. IX.

their ancient form of government, promising, at the same time, that his father should send them a hundred and fifty thousand measures of corn, and all necessary materials for building a hundred galleys of three benches of oars. In this manner did the Athenians recover their democracy, about fourteen years after its abolition.

They carried their gratitude to their benefactors even to impiety and irreligion, by the excessive honours they decreed them. They first conferred the title of king on Antigonus and Demetrius, a title which neither these nor any of the other princes had ever had the presumption to take till then, though they had assumed to themselves all the power and effects of royalty. The Athenians likewise honoured them with the appellation of *tutelar deities;* and instead of the magistracy of the Archon, which gave the year its denomination, they elected annually a priest of these tutelar deities, in whose name all the public acts and decrees were passed. They also ordered their pictures to be painted with those of the other gods, on the veil which was carried in procession at their solemn festivals in honour of Minerva, called Panathenæa; and, by an excess of adulation scarce credible, they consecrated the spot of ground on which Demetrius descended from his chariot, and erected an altar upon it, which they called the *altar of Demetrius descending from his chariot;* and they added to the ten ancient tribes two more, which they styled, *the tribe of Demetrius*, and *the tribe of Antigonus.* They likewise changed the names of two months in their favour, and published an order, that those who should be sent to Antigonus or Demetrius, by any decree of the people, instead of being distinguished by the common title of ambassadors, should be called Theori, which was an appellation reserved for those who were chosen to go and offer sacrifices to the gods at Delphi, or Olympia, in the name of the cities. But even all these honours were not so strange and extravagant as the decree obtained by Demo-

clides, who proposed, "that in order to the more ef-
"fectual consecration of the bucklers that were to
"be dedicated in the temple of Apollo at Delphi,
"proper persons should be dispatched to Demetrius,
'the tutelar deity; and that after they had offered
'sacrifices to him, they should enquire of this tutelar
'deity in what manner they ought to conduct them-
'selves, so as to celebrate, with the greatest prompti-
'tude, and the utmost devotion and magnificence,
'the dedication of those offerings, and that the
'people should comply with all the directions of
'the oracle on that occasion."

The extreme ingratitude the Athenians dis-
covered towards Demetrius Phalereus, was no
ess criminal and extravagant than the immoderate
cknowledgment they had just shown to their new
naster. They had always considered the former as
oo much devoted to oligarchy, and were offended
t his suffering the Macedonian garrison to continue
n their citadel for the space of ten years, without
naking the least application to Cassander for its
emoval: in this, however, he had only followed the
xample of Phocion, and undoubtedly considered
hose troops as a necessary restraint on the tur-
ulent disposition of the Athenians. [c] They might
ossibly imagine likewise, that by declaring against
im, they should ingratiate themselves more effec-
ually with the conqueror. But whatever their mo-
ives might be, they first condemned him to suffer
leath for contumacy; and as they were incapable of
xecuting their resentment upon his person, because
e had retired from their city, they threw down the
umerous statues they had raised in honour of De-
netrius Phalereus; who, when he had received in-
elligence of their proceedings, "At least," said he,
'it will not be in their power to destroy that virtue
'in me by which those statues were deserved."

What estimation is to be made of those honours

[c] Diog. Laert.

which, at one time, are bestowed with so much profusion, and as suddenly revoked at another; honours that had been denied to virtue, and prostituted to vicious princes, with a constant disposition to divest them of those favours upon the first impressions of discontent, and degrade them from their divinity with as much precipitation as they conferred it upon them! What weakness and stupidity do those discover, who are either touched with strong impressions of joy when they receive such honours, or appear dejected when they happen to lose them!

The Athenians still proceeded to greater extremities. Demetrius Phalereus was accused of having acted contrary to their laws in many instances during his administration, and they omitted no endeavours to render him odious. It was necessary for them to have recourse to this injustice and calumny, infamous as such expedients were in their own nature, to escape, if possible, the just reproach of having condemned that merit and virtue which had been universally known and experienced. The statues, while they subsisted, were so many public testimonials, continually declaring in favour of the innocence of Demetrius, and against the injustice of the Athenians. Their own evidence then turned against them, and that they could not invalidate. The reputation of Demetrius was not obliterated by the destruction of his statues; and therefore it was absolutely necessary that he should appear criminal, that the Athenians might be able to represent themselves as innocent and just; and they imagined that a solemn and authentic condemnation would supply the defect of proofs, and the regularity of forms. They did not even spare his friends; and all those who had maintained a strict intimacy with him were exposed to danger. Menander, that celebrated poet, from whom Terence has transcribed the greatest part of his comedies, was on the point of being prosecuted, for no other reason than his having contracted a friendship with Demetrius.

There is reason to believe that Demetrius, after he had passed some time at Thebes, retired for refuge to Cassander, who was sensible of his merit, and testified a particular esteem for him, and that he continued under his protection as long as that prince lived. But, after the death of Cassander, as he had reason to be apprehensive of the worst that could befall him from the brutality of his son Antipater, who had caused his own mother to be destroyed, he retired into Egypt, to Ptolemy Soter, who had rendered himself illustrious by his liberalities to men of letters, and whose court was then the asylum of all persons in distress.

[d] His reception at that court was as favourable as possible; and the king, according to Ælian, gave him the office of superintending the observation of the laws of the state. He held the first rank among the friends of that prince; lived in affluence, and was in a condition to transmit presents to his friends at Athens. These were undoubtedly some of those real friends, of whom Demetrius himself declared that they never came to him in his prosperity till he first had sent for them, but that they always visited him in his adversity without waiting for any invitation.

During his exile he composed several treatises on government, the duties of civil life, and other subjects of the like nature. This employment was a kind of sustenance to his mind,* and cherished in it those sentiments of humanity with which it was so largely replenished. How grateful a consolation and resource is this, either in solitude or a state of exile, to a man solicitious of improving his hours of leisure to the advantage of himself and the public!

The reader, when he considers the surprising number of statues erected in honour of one man,

[d] Ælian. l. iii. c. 17. Plut. de exil. p. 601.

* *Multa præclara in illo calamitoso exilio scripsit, non ad usum aliquem suum, quo erat orbatus; sed animi cultus ille erat ei quasi quidam humanitatis cibus.* Cic. de Finib. bon. & mal. l. v. n. 54.

will undoubtedly have noticed the striking difference between the glorious ages of Athens and that we are now describing. A very judicious author[e] has a fine remark on this occasion. All the recompense, says he, which the Athenians formerly granted Miltiades for preserving the state, was the privilege of being represented in a picture as the principal figure, and at the head of nine other generals, animating the troops for the battle; but the same people, being afterwards softened and corrupted by the flattery of their orators, decreed above three hundred statues to Demetrius Phalereus. Honours thus prodigally lavished are no proofs of real merit, but the effects of servile adulation; and Demetrius Phalereus was culpable to a considerable degree in not opposing them to the utmost of his power, if he really was in a condition to prevent their taking place. [f] The conduct of Cato was much more prudent, in declining several marks of distinction which the people were desirous of granting him; and when he was asked, one day, why no statues had been erected to him, when Rome was crowded with so many others, "I had much rather," said he, "people should enquire why I have none, "than why I have any."

True honour and distinction, says Plutarch, in the place I last cited, consist in the sincere esteem and affection of the people, founded on real merit and effectual services. These are sentiments which are so far from being extinguished by death, that they gain strength and are perpetuated from age to age: whereas a profusion of honours lavished through flattery or fear, upon bad princes and tyrants, are never known to survive them, and frequently die away before them. The same Demetrius Poliorcetes, whom we have lately seen consulted and adored as an oracle and a god, will soon have the mortification to behold the Athenians shutting their

[e] Cor. Nep. in Miltiad. c. vi. [f] Plut. in præc. reip. ger. p. 820.

gates against him, for no other reason than the change of his fortune.

[g] Demetrius, while he continued at Athens, espoused Eurydice, the widow of Ophellas. He had already several wives, and among the rest Phila, the daughter of Antipater, whom his father compelled him to marry against his inclinations, citing to him a verse out of Euripides, which he changed into a parody by the alteration of one word: "Wherever fortune is, a person ought to marry, "even against his inclination."* Ancient as this maxim is, it has never grown obsolete hitherto, but retains its full force, how contrary soever it be to the sentiments of nature. Demetrius was severely censured at Athens for infamous excesses.

[h] In a short time after this marriage, his father ordered him to quit Greece, and sent him, with a strong fleet and a numerous army, to conquer the isle of Cyprus from Ptolemy. Before he undertook this expedition, he sent ambassadors to the Rhodians, to invite them to an alliance with him against Ptolemy; but this attempt proved ineffectual, and they constantly insisted on the liberty of persevering in the neutrality they had embraced. Demetrius being sensible that the intelligence Ptolemy maintained in Rhodes had defeated his design, advanced to Cyprus, where he made a descent, and marched to Salamis, the capital of that island. Menelaus, the brother of Ptolemy, who had shut himself up there with most of his troops, marched out to give him battle, but was defeated, and compelled to reenter the place after he had lost a thousand of his men, who were slain upon the spot, and three thousand more who were taken prisoners.

Menelaus not doubting but the prince, elated with this success, would undertake the siege of Sala-

[g] Plut. in Demetr. p. 894. [h] Diod. l. xx. p. 783—789. Plut. in Demetr. p. 895, 896. Justin. l. xv. c. 2.

* Ὅπου τὸ κέρδος, παρὰ φύσιν γαμητέον. It was δουλευτέον, a man must serve.

mis, made all the necessary preparations, on his part, for a vigorous defence; and while he was employing all his attention for that purpose, he sent couriers post to Ptolemy, to carry him the news of his defeat, and the siege with which he was threatened; they were also to solicit him to hasten the succours he demanded, and, if possible, to lead them in person.

Demetrius after he had obtained an exact account of the situation of the place, as also of its strength and that of the garrison, was sensible that he had not a sufficient number of battering-rams and other military machines to reduce it; and therefore sent to Syria for a great number of expert workmen, with an infinite quantity of iron and wood, in order to make all the necessary preparations for assaulting a city of that importance; and he then first built the famous engine called Helepolis, of which I shall soon give an exact description.

When all the necessary dispositions were made, Demetrius carried on his approaches to the city, and began to batter the walls with his engines; and as they were judiciously worked, they had all the effect that could be expected. The besiegers, after various attacks, opened several large breaches in the wall, by which means the besieged were rendered incapable of sustaining the assault much longer, unless they could resolve on some bold attempt to prevent the assault which Demetrius intended to make the next day. During the night, which had suspended the hostilities on both sides, the inhabitants of Salamis piled a vast quantity of dry wood on their walls, with an intermixture of other combustible materials, and about midnight threw them all down at the foot of the Helepolis, battering-rams, and other engines, and then kindled them with long flaming poles. The fire immediately seized them with so much violence, that they were all in flames in a very short time. The enemies ran from all quarters to extinguish the fire; but this cost

them a considerable time to effect, and most of the machines were greatly damaged. Demetrius, however, was not discouraged at this disaster.

Ptolemy, upon the intelligence he received of his brother's ill success in the action against Demetrius, had caused a powerful fleet to be fitted out with all expedition, and advanced with the utmost expedition to his assistance. The battle, for which both parties prepared after some ineffectual overtures of accommodation, created great expectations of the event, not only in the generals who were then upon the spot, but in all the absent princes and commanders. The result appeared to be uncertain; but it was very apparent that it would eventually give one of the contending parties an entire superiority over the rest. Ptolemy, who arrived with a fleet of a hundred and fifty sail, had ordered Menelaus, who was then at Salamis, to come up with the sixty vessels under his command, in order to charge the rear-guard of Demetrius, and throw them into disorder, amidst the heat of the battle. But Demetrius had had the precaution to leave ten of his ships to oppose those sixty of Menelaus; for this small number was sufficient to guard the entrance into the port, which was very narrow, and prevent Menelaus from coming out. When this preliminary to the engagement was settled, Demetrius drew out his land forces, and extended them along the points of land which projected into the sea, that he might be in a condition, in case any misfortune happened, to assist those who would be obliged to save themselves by swimming; after which he sailed into the open sea with a hundred and eighty galleys, and charged the fleet of Ptolemy with so much impetuosity, that he broke the line of battle. Ptolemy, finding his defeat inevitable, had immediately recourse to flight with eight galleys, which were all that escaped; for of the other vessels which composed his fleet, some were either shattered or sunk in the battle and the others, to the number of seventy, were taken,

with their whole complements. All the rest of Ptolemy's train and baggage, his domestics, friends, and wives, provisions, arms, money, and machines of war, on board the store-ships which lay at anchor, were seized by Demetrius, who caused them to be carried to his camp.

Menelaus no longer made any opposition after this battle at sea, but surrendered himself to Demetrius, with the city, and all his ships and land forces, which consisted of twelve hundred horse and twelve thousand foot.

Demetrius enhanced the glory of this victory by his humanity and generous conduct after it. He caused the slain to be interred in a magnificent manner, and generously restored liberty to Menelaus and Lentiscus, one the brother and the other the son of Ptolemy, who were found among the prisoners: he also sent them back to him, with their friends and domestics, and all their baggage, without any ransom; that he might once more return the civilities he had formerly experienced from Ptolemy, on a like occasion, after the battle of Gaza. *With so much more generosity, disinterestedness, and politeness, did enemies make war against each other in those days, than we now find between friends in the ordinary intercourse of life. He likewise selected out of the spoils twelve hundred complete suits of armour, and gave them to the Athenians; the rest of the prisoners, whose number amounted to seventeen thousand men, without including the sailors taken with the fleet, were incorporated by him into his troops; by which means he greatly reinforced his army.

Antigonus, who continued in Syria, waited with the utmost anxiety and impatience for an account of a battle, by the event of which the fate of himself and his son was to be decided. When the

* *Tanto honestiùs tunc bella gerebantur, quàm nunc amicitiæ coluntur.* JUSTIN.

courier brought him intelligence, that Demetrius had obtained a complete victory, his joy rose in proportion; and all the people, at the same instant, proclaimed Antigonus and Demetrius kings. Antigonus immediately transmitted to his son the diadem which had glittered on his own brows, and gave him the title of king in the letter he wrote to him. The Egyptians, when they were informed of this proceeding, proclaimed Ptolemy king also, that they might not seem to be dejected at their defeat, or be thought to entertain the less esteem and affection for their prince. Lysimachus and Seleucus soon followed their example, the one in Thrace, and the other in Babylon and the provinces of the East; and assumed the title of king, in their several dominions, after they had for so many years usurped all the authority, without presuming to take the title upon them, till now, which was about eighteen years after the death of Alexander. Cassander alone, though he was treated as a king by the others when they either spoke or wrote to him, continued to write his letters in his usual manner, and without affixing any addition to his name.

Plutarch observes, that this new title not only occasioned these princes to augment their train and pompous appearance, but also caused them to assume airs of pride and arrogance, and inspired them with such haughty impressions as they had never manifested till then; as if this appellation had suddenly exalted them into a species of beings different from the rest of mankind.

A. M. 3699. Ant. J.C. 305. [h] Seleucus had greatly increased his power in the oriental provinces, during the transactions we have been describing; for after he had killed Nicanor, whom Antigonus had sent against him, in a battle, he not only established himself in the possession of Media, Assyria, and Babylon, but reduced Persia,

[h] Appian. in Syr. p. 122, 123. Justin. l. xv. c. 4.

Bactriana, Hyrcania, and all the provinces on this side the Indus, which had formerly been conquered by Alexander.

[1] Antigonus, on his side, to improve the victory his son had obtained in Cyprus, assembled an army of a hundred thousand men in Syria, with an intention to invade Egypt. He flattered himself that conquest would readily attend his arms, and that he should divest Ptolemy of that kingdom, with as much ease as he had taken Cyprus from him. Whilst he was conducting this great army by land, Demetrius followed him with his fleet, which coasted along the shore to Gaza, where the father and son concerted the measures each of them were to pursue. The pilots advised them to wait till the setting of the Pleiades, and defer their departure only for eight days, because the sea was then very tempestuous; but the impatience of Antigonus to surprise Ptolemy, before his preparations were completed, caused him to disregard that salutary advice. Demetrius was ordered to make a descent in one of the mouths of the Nile, while Antigonus was to endeavour to open a passage by land, into the heart of the country; but neither the one nor the other succeeded in his expedition. The fleet of Demetrius sustained great damage by violent storms; and Ptolemy had taken such effectual precautions to secure the mouths of the Nile, as rendered it impracticable to Demetrius to land his troops. Antigonus, on the other hand, after enduring many hardships in crossing the deserts that lie between Palestine and Egypt, had much greater difficulties still to surmount, and found it impossible to pass the first arm of the Nile in his march; such judicious orders had been given by Ptolemy, and so advantageously were his troops posted at all the passes and avenues; but what was still more distressing to Antigonus than all

[1] Diod. l. xx. p. 804—806. Plut. in Demetr. p. 896, 897.

the rest, his soldiers daily deserted from him in great numbers.

Ptolemy had sent out boats on several parts of the river where the enemies resorted for water, and caused it to be proclaimed on his part, from those vessels, that every deserter from their troops should receive from him two minæ, and every officer a talent. So considerable a recompence soon allured great numbers to receive it, especially the mercenaries in the pay of Antigonus; nor were they prevailed upon by money alone, as their inclinations to serve Ptolemy were much stronger than their motives to continue under Antigonus, whom they considered as an old man, difficult to be pleased, imperious, morose, and severe; whereas Ptolemy rendered himself amiable, by his gentle disposition and engaging behaviour to all who approached him.

Antigonus, after he had hovered to no effect on the frontiers of Egypt, and even till his provisions began to fail him, becoming sensible of his inability to enter Egypt, and finding that his army decreased every day by sickness and desertion, and that it was impossible for him to subsist his remaining troops any longer in that country; was obliged to return into Syria, in a very shameful manner, after having lost in this unfortunate expedition a great number of his land forces, and many of his ships.

Ptolemy, having offered a sacrifice to the gods, in gratitude for the protection they had granted him, sent to acquaint Lysimachus, Cassander, and Seleucus, with the happy event of that campaign, and to renew the alliance between them, against the common enemy. This was the last attack he had to sustain for the crown of Egypt, and it greatly contributed to fix it upon his head, in consequence of the prudent measures he pursued. Ptolemy, the astronomer, therefore fixes the commencement of his reign at this period, and afterwards points out the several years of its duration, in his chronological canon. He begins the Epocha on the seventh of

November, nineteen years after the death of Alexander the Great.

SECT. VIII. *Demetrius forms the siege of Rhodes, which he raises a year after, by concluding a treaty much to the honour of the city. Helepolis, a famous machine. The Colossus of Rhodes. Protogenes, a celebrated painter, spared during the siege.*

[k] ANTIGONUS was not less than fourscore years of age at that time, and as he had then contracted a gross habit of body, and consequently was but little qualified for the activity of a military life, he made use of his son's services, who, from the experience he had already acquired, and the success which attended him, transacted the most important affairs with great ability. The father, for this reason, was not offended at his expensive luxury and intemperance; for Demetrius, during peace, abandoned himself to the greatest excesses of all kinds, without the least regard to decorum. In times of war, indeed, he acted a very different part; he was then a quite different man, vigilant, active, laborious, and invincible by fatigues. Whether he indulged in pleasure, or applied to serious affairs, he entirely devoted himself to the one or the other; and for the time he engaged in either was incapable of moderation. He had an inventive genius; and an inquisitive turn of mind, actuated by a love for the sciences. He never employed his natural industry in frivolous and insignificant amusements, like many other kings, some of whom, as Plutarch observes, valued themselves for their expertness in playing on instruments, others in painting, and some in their dexterity in the turner's art, with a hundred other

A. M. 3700. Ant. J. C. 304.

[k] Diod. l. xx. p. 809—815, & 817—825. Plut. in Demetr. p. 897 & 898.

qualities of private men, but not one of a prince. His application to the mechanic arts had something great and truly royal in it; his galleys, with fifteen benches of oars, were the admiration of his enemies, who beheld them sailing along their coasts; and his engines called *helepoles*, were a surprising spectacle to those whom he besieged. They were exceedingly useful to him in the war with Rhodes, with the conduct of which his father had charged him at the time we are now speaking of.

Among the islands called Sporades, Rhodes held the first rank, as well for the fertility of its soil, as the safety of its ports and roads, which, on that account, were resorted to by great numbers of trading ships from all parts. It then formed a small, but very powerful state, whose friendship was courted by all princes, and which was studious, on its own part, to keep upon good terms with them all, by observing an exact neutrality, and carefully declining any declaration in favour of one against another, in the wars that arose in those times. As the inhabitants were limited to a little island, all their power flowed from their riches, and their riches from their commerce, which it was their main interest to preserve as free as possible with the Mediterranean states, which all contributed to its prosperity. The Rhodians, by persisting in so prudent a conduct, had rendered their city very flourishing; and as they enjoyed continual peace, they became extremely opulent. Notwithstanding the seeming neutrality they maintained, their inclination, as well as interest, peculiarly attached them to Ptolemy, because the principal and most advantageous branches of their commerce flowed from Egypt. When Antigonus, therefore, demanded succours of them in his war with Cyprus, they entreated him not to compel them to declare against Ptolemy, their ancient friend and ally; but this answer, prudent and well concerted as it really was, drew upon them the displeasure of Antigonus,

which he expressed in the severest menaces; and, when he returned from his expedition to Egypt, he sent his son Demetrius, with a fleet and army, to chastise their insolent temerity, as he termed it, and likewise to reduce them to his obedience.

The Rhodians, who foresaw the impending storm, had sent to all the princes their allies, and to Ptolemy in particular, to implore their assistance; and caused it to be represented to the latter, that their attachment to his interest had drawn upon them the danger to which they were then exposed.

The preparations on each side were immense. Demetrius arrived before Rhodes with a very numerous fleet, for he had two hundred ships of war of different dimensions; and more than a hundred and seventy transports, which carried about forty thousand men, without including the cavalry and the succours he received from pirates. He had likewise near a thousand small vessels laden with provisions, and all other necessary accommodations for an army. The expectation of the vast booty to be acquired by the capture of so rich a city as Rhodes, had allured great numbers of soldiers to join Demetrius in this expedition. This prince, who had the most fertile and inventive genius that ever was, for attacking places, and forming machines of war, had brought with him an infinite number of the latter. He was sensible that he had to deal with a brave people, and very able commanders, who had acquired great experience in maritime affairs; and that the besieged had above eight hundred military machines almost as formidable as his own.

Demetrius, upon his arrival at the island, landed in order to take a view of the most commodious situation for assaulting the place. He likewise sent out parties to lay the country waste on all sides, and, at the same time, caused another body of his troops to cut down the trees, and demolish the houses in the parts adjacent to Rhodes, and then

employed them as materials to fortify his camp with a triple palisade.

The Rhodians, on their part, prepared for a vigorous defence. All persons of merit, and reputation for military affairs in the countries in alliance with the Rhodians, threw themselves into the city, as much for the honour of serving a republic, equally celebrated for its gratitude and the courage of its citizens, as to manifest their own valour and abilities in the defence of that place, against one of the greatest captains, and the most expert in the conduct of sieges, that antiquity ever produced.

They began with dismissing from the city all such persons as were useless; and the number of those who remained, and were capable of bearing arms, amounted to six thousand citizens and a thousand strangers. Liberty, and the right of denizens, were promised to such slaves as should distinguish themselves by their bravery, and the public engaged to pay the masters the full price for each of them. It was likewise publicly declared, that the citizens would bestow an honourable interment on those who should lose their lives in any engagement, and would also provide for the subsistence of their parents, wives, and children, and portion the daughters in marriage; and that when the sons should be of an age capable of bearing arms, they should be presented with a complete suit of armour, on the public theatre, at the great solemnity of the Bacchanalia.

This decree kindled an incredible ardour in all ranks of men. The rich came in crowds with money to defray the expence of the siege, and the soldiers' pay. The workmen redoubled their industry in making arms that were excellent, as well for the promptitude of execution, as the beauty of the work. Some were employed in making catapultas and balistas; others formed different machines equally necessary; a third class repaired the breaches of the walls; while several others supplied them with stone. In a word, every thing was in motion

throughout the city, each striving with emulation to distinguish himself on that occasion; so that a zeal so ardent and universal was never known before.

The besieged first sent out three good sailers against a small fleet of suttlers and merchants, who were bringing a supply of provisions to the enemy: they sunk a great number of their vessels, burnt several, and carried into the city such of the prisoners as were in a condition to pay their ransom. The Rhodians gained a considerable sum of money by this expedition; for it was mutually agreed, that a thousand drachmas (about five and twenty pounds) should be paid for every person that was a freeman, and half the sum for a slave.

The siege of Rhodes has been represented as the masterpiece of Demetrius, and the greatest instance of the fertility of his genius in resources and inventions. He began the attack from the sea, in order to make himself master of the port, and the towers which defended the entrance.

In order to accomplish this design, he caused two* tortoises to be erected on two flat-bottomed vessels joined together, to facilitate his approach to the places he intended to batter. One of these was stronger and more solid than the other, in order to cover the men from those enormous masses which the besieged discharged from the towers and walls, by means of the catapultas planted upon them; the other was of a lighter structure, and designed to shelter the soldiers from flights of darts and arrows. Two towers of four stories were erected at the same time, which exceeded in height the towers that defended the entrance into the port, and these were intended to be used in battering the latter with volleys of stones and darts. Each of these towers was placed upon two ships strongly bound together.

Demetrius, besides, caused a kind of floating

* These were pent-houses of wood, constructed so as to shelter the soldiers.

barricado to be erected in front of these tortoises and towers on a long beam of timber, four feet thick, through which stakes, armed at the end with large spikes of iron, were driven. These stakes were disposed horizontally, with their spikes projecting forward, in order to prevent the vessels of the port from shattering the work with their beaks.

He likewise selected out of his fleet the largest vessels, on the side of which he erected a rampart of planks with little windows, easy to be opened. He there placed the best Cretan archers and slingers in all his army, and furnished them with an infinite number of bows, small balistas or cross-bows, slings and catapultas, with other engines for shooting; in order to gall the workmen of the city employed in raising and repairing the walls of the port.

The Rhodians seeing the besiegers turn all their efforts against that quarter, were no less industrious to defend it; in order to accomplish that design, they raised two machines upon an adjoining eminence, and formed three others, which they placed on large ships of burden, at the mouth of the little haven. A body of archers and slingers was likewise posted on each of these situations, with a prodigious quantity of stones, darts, and arrows of all kinds. The same orders were also given with respect to the ships of burden in the great port.

When Demetrius advanced with his ships and all his armament, to begin the attack on the ports, such a violent tempest arose as rendered it impossible for him to accomplish any of his operations that day; but the sea growing calm about night, he took the advantage of the darkness, and advanced, without being perceived by the enemy, to the great harbour: he made himself master of a neighbouring eminence, about five hundred paces from the wall, and posted there four hundred soldiers, who fortified themselves immediately with strong palisades.

The next morning, Demetrius caused his batteries to advance with the sound of trumpets, and

the shouts of his whole army; and they at first produced all the effect he proposed from them. A great number of the besieged were slain in this attack, and several breaches were opened in the mole which covered the port: but they were not very advantageous to the besiegers, who were always repulsed by the Rhodians; and after a loss nearly equal on both sides, Demetrius was obliged to retire from the port with his ships and machines, to be out of the reach of the enemy's arrows.

The besieged, who had learned to their cost what advantage might be taken of the darkness of the night, caused several fire-ships to sail out of the port during the darkness, in order to burn the tortoises and wooden towers which the enemy had erected; but as unfortunately they were not able to force the floating barricado which sheltered them, they were obliged to return into the port. The Rhodians lost some of their fire-ships in this expedition, but the mariners saved themselves by swimming.

The next day, the prince ordered a general attack to be made against the port and the walls of the place, with the sound of trumpets and the shouts of his whole army, thinking by those means to spread terror among the besieged: but they were so far from being intimidated, that they sustained the attack with incredible vigour, and discovered the same intrepidity for the space of eight days that it continued; and actions of astonishing bravery were performed on both sides during that long interval.

Demetrius, taking advantage of the eminence which his troops had seized, gave orders for erecting upon it a battery of several engines, which discharged great stones of a hundred and fifty pounds in weight, against the walls and towers, the latter of which tottered with the repeated shocks, and several breaches were soon made in the walls. The besiegers advanced with great fury to seize the mole which defended the entrance into the port; but

as this post was of the utmost importance to the Rhodians, they spared no pains to repulse the besiegers, who had already made a considerable progress. This they at last effected, by a shower of stones and arrows, which they discharged upon their enemies with so much rapidity, and for such a length of time, that they were obliged to retire in confusion, after losing a great number of their men.

The ardour of the besiegers was not diminished by this repulse, and they rather appeared more animated than ever against the Rhodians. They began the scalade by land and sea at the same time, and employed the besieged so effectually, that they scarce knew to what quarter to run for the defence of the place. The attack was carried on with the utmost fury on all sides, and the besieged defended themselves with the greatest intrepidity. Great numbers were thrown from the ladders to the earth, and miserably bruised; several even of the principal officers, got to the top of the wall, where they were covered with wounds, and taken prisoners by the enemy; so that Demetrius, notwithstanding all his valour, thought it necessary to retreat, in order to repair his engines, which were almost entirely destroyed by so many attacks, as well as the vessels that carried them.

After the prince had retreated from Rhodes, immediate care was taken to bury the dead; the beaks also of the ships, with the other spoils that had been taken from the enemy, were carried to the temple, and the workmen were indefatigable in repairing the breaches of the walls.

Demetrius having employed seven days in refitting his ships, and repairing his engines, set sail again, with a fleet as formidable as the former, and steered, with a fair wind, directly for the port, which he was most anxious to gain, as he conceived it impracticable to reduce the place till he had first made himself master of that. Upon his arrival,

he caused a vast quantity of lighted torches, flaming straw, and arrows to be discharged, in order to set fire to the vessels that were riding there, while his engines battered the mole without intermission. The besieged, who expected attacks of this nature, exerted themselves with so much vigour and activity, that they soon extinguished the flames which had seized the vessels in the port.

At the same time they caused three of their largest ships to sail out of the port, under the command of Exacestes, one of their bravest officers, with orders to attack the enemy, and exert the utmost efforts to reach the vessels that carried the tortoises and wooden towers, and to charge them in such a manner with the beaks of theirs, as might either sink them, or render them entirely useless. These orders were executed with surprising expedition and address; and the three galleys, after they had shattered and broken through the floating barricado already mentioned, drove their beaks with so much violence into the sides of the enemy's barks, on which the machines were erected, that the water was immediately seen to flow into them through several openings. Two of them were already sunk, but the third was towed along by the galleys, and joined the main fleet; and dangerous as it was to attack them in that situation, the Rhodians, through a blind and precipitate ardour, ventured to attempt it. But as the inequality was too great to admit them to come off with success, Exacestes, with the officer who commanded under him, and some others, after having fought with all the bravery imaginable, were taken with the galley in which they were; the other two regained the port, after sustaining many dangers, and most of the men also arrived there by swimming.

Unfortunate as this last attack had proved to Demetrius, he was determined to undertake another; and in order to succeed in that design, he ordered a machine of a new invention to be built, of thrice

the height and breadth of those he had lately lost. When this was completed, he caused it to be placed near the port which he was resolved to force; but at the instant they were preparing to work it, a dreadful tempest arose at sea, and sunk it to the bottom, with the vessels on which it had been raised.

The besieged, who were careful to improve all opportunities, employed the time afforded them by the continuance of the tempest, in regaining the eminence near the port, which the enemy had carried in the first assault, and where they afterwards fortified themselves. The Rhodians attacked it, and were repulsed several times; but the forces of Demetrius who defended it, perceiving fresh troops continually pouring upon them, and that it was in vain for them to expect any relief, were obliged, at last, to surrender themselves prisoners, to the number of four hundred men.

This series of fortunate events was succeeded by the arrival of five hundred men from Cnossus, a city of Crete, to the assistance of the Rhodians, and also of five hundred more whom Ptolemy sent from Egypt, most of them being Rhodians, who had listed themselves among the troops of that prince.

Demetrius, being extremely mortified to see all his batteries on the side of the harbour rendered ineffectual, resolved to employ them by land, in order to carry the place by assault, or reduce it to the necessity of capitulating. He, therefore, prepared materials of every kind, and formed a machine called *helepolis*, which was larger than any that had ever been invented before. The basis on which it stood was square, and each of its sides was seventy-five feet wide. The machine itself was an assemblage of large square beams, riveted together with iron, and the whole mass rested upon eight wheels that were made proportionable to the weight of the superstructure. The fellies of these wheels were three feet thick, and strengthened with large iron plates.

In order to facilitate and vary the movements of the helepolis, care had been taken to place casters* under it, by which the machine was made moveable any way.

From each of the four angles a large column of wood was carried up to the height of about one hundred and fifty feet, inclining towards each other. The machine was composed of nine stories, whose dimensions gradually lessened in the ascent. The first story was supported by forty-three beams, and the last by no more than nine.

Three sides of the machine were plated over with iron, to prevent its being damaged by the fires that were launched from the city.

In the front of each story were little windows, whose form and dimensions corresponded with the nature of the arrows that were to be shot from the machine. Over each window was a kind of curtain made with leather, stuffed with wool: this was let down by a machine for that purpose, and the intention of it was to break the force of whatever should be discharged by the enemy against it.

Each story had two large stair-cases, one for the ascent of the men, and the other for their descent.

This machine was moved forward by three thousand four hundred of the strongest and most vigorous men in the whole army, but the art with which it was built greatly facilitated the motion.

Demetrius also gave directions for building a great number of other machines, of different magnitudes, and for various uses; he also employed his seamen in levelling the ground over which the

* Mons. Rollin informs us, in a note, that he was obliged to retain the Greek term (*Antistrepta*) for want of a proper French word to render it by; but as the English language is not so defective in that particular, the translator has expressed the Greek by the word *caster*, which, as well as the original word, signifies a wheel placed under a piece of work, in such a manner as to render it convertible on all sides, like those little wheels affixed under the feet of beds, by which they move with ease to any part of a room.

machines were to move, which was a hundred fathoms in length. The number of artisans and others employed on these works, amounted to near thirty thousand men, by which means they were finished with incredible expedition.

The Rhodians were not indolent during these formidable preparations, but employed their time in raising a counter-wall, on the tract of ground where Demetrius intended to batter the walls of the city with the helepolis; and, in order to accomplish this work, they demolished the wall which surrounded the theatre, as also several neighbouring houses, and even some temples, having solemnly promised the gods to build more magnificent structures for the celebration of their worship after the siege should be raised.

When they knew that the enemy had quitted the sea, they sent out nine of their best ships of war, divided into three squadrons, the command of which they gave to three of their bravest sea-officers, who returned with a very rich booty, some galleys, and several smaller vessels, which they had taken, as also a great number of prisoners. They had likewise seized a galley richly laden, in which were large quantities of tapestry, with other furniture, and a variety of rich robes, intended by Phila as a present to her husband Demetrius, and accompanied with letters which she herself had written to him. The Rhodians sent the whole, and even the letters, to Ptolemy, which exceedingly exasperated Demetrius. In this proceeding, says Plutarch, they did not imitate the polite conduct of the Athenians, who having once seized some of the couriers of Philip, with whom they were then at war, opened all the packets but those of Olympias, which they sent to Philip sealed as they were. There are some rules of decency and honour which ought to be inviolably observed even with enemies.

While the ships of the republic were employed in taking the prizes already mentioned, a great com-

motion happened at Rhodes, respecting the statues of Antigonus and Demetrius, which had been erected in honour of them, and till then had been held in the utmost veneration. Some of the principal citizens were solicitous, in a public assembly, for an order to destroy the statues of those princes who then harassed them with such a cruel war; but the people, who were more discreet and moderate on this occasion than their chiefs, would not suffer that proposal to be executed. So wise and equitable a conduct, exclusively of all events, did the Rhodians no small honour; but in case their city should be taken, it could not fail to inspire the conqueror with impressions in their favour.

Demetrius having tried several mines without success, from their being all discovered, and rendered ineffectual by the vigilant conduct and activity of the besieged, gave orders and made the necessary dispositions for a general assault; in order to which the helepolis was moved to a situation from whence the city might be battered with the best effect. Each story of this formidable engine was furnished with catapultas and balistas proportioned in their size to the dimensions of the place. It was likewise supported and fortified on two of its sides, by four small machines called tortoises, each of which had a covered gallery, to secure those who should either enter the helepolis, or issue out of it, to execute different orders. On the two other sides was a battering-ram of a prodigious size, consisting of a piece of timber thirty fathoms in length, armed with iron terminating in a point, and as strong as the beak of a galley. These engines were mounted on wheels, and were driven forward to batter the walls during the attack with incredible force by near a thousand men.

When every thing was ready, Demetrius ordered the trumpets to sound, and the general assault to be given on all sides, both by sea and land. In the

heat of the attack, and when the walls were already shaken by the battering-rams, ambassadors arrived from the Cnidians, and earnestly solicited Demetrius to suspend the assault, giving him hopes, at the same time, that they should prevail upon the besieged to submit to an honourable capitulation. A suspension of arms was accordingly granted; but the Rhodians refusing to capitulate on the conditions proposed to them, the attack was renewed with so much fury, and all the machines co-operated so effectually, that a large tower built with square stones, and the wall that flanked it, were battered down. The besieged fought like lions in the breach, and repulsed their enemies.

In this conjuncture, the vessels which Ptolemy had freighted with three hundred thousand measures of corn, and different kinds of pulse for the Rhodians, arrived very seasonably in the port, notwithstanding all the efforts of the enemies' ships which cruised in the neighbourhood to intercept them. A few days after this relief, two other small fleets sailed into the port; one of which was sent by Cassander, with one hundred thousand bushels of barley; the other came from Lysimachus with four hundred thousand bushels of wheat, and as much barley. This seasonable and abundant supply, which was received when the city began to be in want of provisions, inspired the besieged with new courage; and they resolved not to surrender till the last extremity.

While they were animated in this manner, they attempted to fire the enemies' machines, and with this view, ordered a numerous body of soldiers to march out of the city towards midnight with torches, and all kinds of kindled wood. These troops advanced to the batteries, and set them on fire, and at the same time innumerable arrows were shot from the wall, to support the detachment against those who should endeavour to extinguish the flames. The besiegers lost great numbers of their men on

this occasion, because they were incapable, amidst the obscurity of the night, either to see or avoid the volleys of arrows discharged upon them. Several plates of iron happening to fall from the helepolis during the conflagration, the Rhodians advanced with impetuosity, in order to set it on fire: but as the troops within quenched it with water as fast as the flames were kindled, they could not effect their design. However, Demetrius being apprehensive that all his machines would be consumed, caused them to be removed with all possible expedition.

Demetrius, being curious to know what number of machines the besieged had employed in casting arrows, caused all those, which had been shot from the place in the attack that night, to be gathered up; and when these were counted, and a proper computation made, he found that the inhabitants must have more than eight hundred engines, of different dimensions, for discharging fires, and about fifteen hundred for arrows. The prince was struck with consternation at this number, as he did not imagine the city could have made such formidable preparations. He caused his dead to be interred, gave directions for curing those who were wounded, and was as expeditious as possible in repairing the machines which had been dismounted and rendered useless.

The besieged, in order to take advantage of the relaxation they enjoyed by the removal of the machines, were industrious to fortify themselves against the new assault, for which their enemies were then preparing. To this purpose they began with opening a large and deep ditch behind the breach, to obstruct the passage of the enemy into the city; after which they raised a substantial wall, in the form of a crescent along the ditch; which would cost the enemies a new attack.

As their attention was devoted, at the same time, to every other emergency, they detached a squadron

of the best sailing ships in their port, which took a great number of vessels laden with provisions and ammunition for Demetrius, and brought them into the port. These were soon followed by a numerous fleet of small vessels freighted with corn and other necessaries, sent them by Ptolemy, with fifteen hundred men commanded by Antigonus of Macedonia.

Demetrius, having repaired his machines, caused them all to advance near the city, when a second embassy arrived at the camp from the Athenians, and some other states of Greece, on the same subject as the former, but with as little success. The king, whose imagination was fruitful of expedients for succeeding in his projects, detached fifteen hundred of his best troops, under the command of Alcimus and Mancius, with orders to enter the breach at midnight, and force the intrenchments behind it. They were then to possess themselves of the parts adjacent to the theatre, where they would be in a condition to maintain their ground, if they could but once make themselves masters of it. In order to facilitate the execution of so important and dangerous an expedition, and amuse the enemy with false attacks, he at the same time caused all the trumpets to sound a charge, and the city to be attacked on all sides, both by sea and land, that the besieged finding sufficient employment in all parts, the fifteen hundred men might have an opportunity of forcing the intrenchments which covered the breach, and afterwards of seizing all the advantageous posts about the theatre. This feint had all the success the prince expected from it. The troops having shouted from all quarters, as if they were advancing to a general assault, the detachment commanded by Alcimus entered the breach, and made such a vigorous attack upon those who defended the ditch and the crescent which covered it, that after they had killed a great number of their enemies, and put the rest into con-

fusion, they seized the posts adjacent to the theatre, where they maintained themselves.

The alarm was very great in the city, and all the chiefs who commanded there dispatched orders to their officers and soldiers forbidding them to quit their posts, or make the least movement whatever. After which they placed themselves at the head of a chosen body of their own troops, and of those who were newly arrived from Egypt, and with them poured upon the detachment which had advanced as far as the theatre; but the obscurity of the night rendered it impracticable to dislodge them from the posts they had seized, and the day no sooner appeared, than an universal cry of the besiegers was heard from all quarters, by which they endeavoured to animate those who had entered the place, and inspire them with a resolution to maintain their ground, where they might soon expect succours. This terrible cry drew floods of tears and dismal groans from the populace, women, and children, who continued in the city, and concluded themselves inevitably lost. The battle, however, continued with great vigour near the theatre, and the Macedonians defended their post with an intrepidity that astonished their enemies, till at last the Rhodians prevailing by their numbers, and perpetual supplies of fresh troops, the detachment, after having seen Alcimus and Mancius slain on the spot, were obliged to submit to superior force, and abandon a post it was no longer possible to maintain. Great numbers of them fell on the spot, and the rest were taken prisoners.

The ardour of Demetrius was rather augmented than abated by this check, and he was making the necessary dispositions for a new assault, when he received letters from his father Antigonus, by which he was directed to take all possible measures for the conclusion of a peace with the Rhodians. He then wanted some plausible pretext for discontinuing the siege, and chance supplied him with it. At that

very instant deputies from Ætolia arrived at his camp to solicit him anew to grant a peace to the Rhodians, to which they found him not so averse as before.

[1] If what Vegetius relates of the helepolis be true, and indeed Vitruvius seems to confirm it, with a small variation of circumstances, it might possibly be another motive that contributed not a little to dispose Demetrius to a peace. That prince was preparing to advance his helepolis against the city, when a Rhodian engineer contrived an expedient to render it entirely useless; he opened a mine under the walls of the city, and continued it to the way over which the tower was to pass the ensuing day in order to approach the walls. The besiegers not suspecting any stratagem of that nature, moved on the tower to the place undermined; which being incapable of supporting so enormous a load, sunk in under the machine, which buried itself so deep in the earth, that it was impossible to draw it out again. This was one inconvenience to which these formidable engines were obnoxious; and the two authors whom I have cited declare, that this accident determined Demetrius to raise the siege; and it is, at least, very probable that it contributed not a little to his taking that resolution.

The Rhodians, on their part, were as desirous of an accommodation as himself, provided it could be effected upon reasonable terms. Ptolemy, in promising them fresh succours, much more considerable than the former, had earnestly exhorted them not to lose a favourable occasion, if it should offer itself. Besides which, they were sensible of the extreme necessity they were under of putting an end to the siege, which could not but prove fatal to them at last. This consideration induced them to listen with pleasure to the proposals made them, and the treaty was concluded soon after

[1] Veget de re mili. c. 17.

upon the following terms: That the republic of Rhodes, and all its citizens, should retain the enjoyment of their rights, privileges, and liberty, without being subjected to any power whatsoever. The alliance they had always had with Antigonus, was to be confirmed and renewed, with an obligation to take up arms for him in any war in which he should be engaged, provided it was not against Ptolemy. The city was also to deliver a hundred hostages, to be chosen by Demetrius, for the effectual performance of the articles stipulated between them. When these hostages were given, the army decamped from before Rhodes, after having besieged it a year.

[m] Demetrius, who was then reconciled with the Rhodians, was desirous, before his departure, to give them a proof of that disposition; and accordingly presented them with all the machines of war he had employed in that siege. These were afterwards sold for three hundred talents (about three hundred thousand crowns), which they employed, with an additional sum of their own, in making the famous Colossus, which was reputed one of the seven wonders of the world. It was a statue of the sun, of so stupendous a size, that ships in full sail passed between its legs; the height of it was seventy cubits, or one hundred and five feet, and few men could clasp his thumb with their arms. It was the work of Chares of Lindus, and employed him for the space of twelve years. Sixty-six years after its erection it was thrown down by an earthquake; of which we shall speak in the sequel of this history.

The Rhodians, to testify their gratitude to Ptolemy for the assistance he had given them in so dangerous a conjuncture, consecrated a grove to that prince, after they had consulted the oracle of Jupiter Ammon, to give the action an air of solemnity; and, to honour him the more, erected a magnificent edifice within it. They built a sumptuous portico, and continued it along each side of the

[m] Plin. l. xxxiv. c. 7.

square which encompassed the grove, and contained a space of four hundred fathoms. This portico was called the Ptolemæon; and, out of flattery, no less customary in those days than it was impious, divine honours were rendered to him in that place: and in order to perpetuate their deliverer in this war by another method, they gave him the appellation of Soter, which signifies a saviour, and is used by the historians to distinguish him from the other Ptolemies, who were his successors on the throne of Egypt.

I was unwilling to interrupt the series of events that occurred at this siege, and, therefore, reserved for this place one that greatly redounds to the honour of Demetrius. It relates to his taste for the arts, and the esteem he entertained for those who were distinguished by peculiar merit in them; a circumstance not a little conducive to the glory of a prince.

Rhodes was at that time the residence of a celebrated painter, named Protogenes, who was a native of Caunus, a city of Caria, which was then subject to the Rhodians. The apartment where he painted was in the suburbs, without the city, when Demetrius first besieged it; but neither the presence of the enemies who then surrounded him, nor the noise of arms that perpetually rung in his ears, could induce him to quit his habitation, or discontinue his work. The king was surprised at his conduct; and as he one day asked him his reasons for such a proceeding. "It is," replied he, "because I am sensible you have declared war against "the Rhodians, and not against the sciences." Nor was he deceived in that opinion, for Demetrius actually showed himself their protector. He planted a guard round his house, that the artist might enjoy tranquillity, or, at least, be secure from danger, amidst the tumult and ravages of war. He frequently went to see him work, and could never sufficiently admire his application, and his surprising excellency in his art.

The master-piece of this painter was the *Ialysus*, an historical picture of a fabulous hero of that name, whom the Rhodians acknowledged as their founder.* Protogenes had employed seven years in finishing this piece; and when Apelles first saw it, he was transported with so much admiration, that his speech failed him for some time; and when he at last began to recover from his astonishment, he cried out, "Prodigious work indeed! Admirable performance! It has not, however, the graces I give my works, and which has raised their reputation to the skies." If we may credit Pliny, Protogenes, during the whole time he was working on this picture, condemned himself to a very rigid and abstemious life,† that the delicacy of his taste and imagination might not be affected by his diet. This picture was carried to Rome, and consecrated in the temple of Peace, where it remained in the time of Pliny; but it was destroyed at last by fire.

The same Pliny pretends that Rhodes was saved by this picture, because, as it hung in the only quarter by which it was possible for Demetrius to take the city, he rather chose to abandon his conquest,‡ than expose so precious a monument of art to the danger of being consumed in the flames. This, indeed, would have been carrying his taste and value for painting into a surprising extreme; but we have already seen the true reasons which obliged Demetrius to raise the siege.

One of the figures in this picture was a dog,§ that

* He was the son of Ochimus, whose parents were the Sun and Rhoda, from whom the city and island derived their name.

† He supported himself on boiled lupines, a kind of pulse, which satisfied his hunger and thirst at the same time.

‡ *Parcentem picturæ fugit occasio victoriæ.*

§ *Est in eâ canis mirè factus, ut quem pariter casus et ars pinxerint. Non judicabat se exprimere in eo spumam anhelantis posse, cùm in reliquâ omni parte (quod difficillimum erat) sibi ipsi satisfeciisset. Displicebat autem ars ipsa, nec minui poterat, et videbatur, nimia, ac longiùs à veritate discedere, spumaque illa pingi non ex ore nasci, anxio animi cruciatu, cùm in picturâ verum*

was admired by all good judges, and had cost the painter great pains, without his being able to express his idea to his own satisfaction, though he was sufficiently pleased with all the rest of the work. He endeavoured to represent the dog panting, and with his mouth foaming as after a long chase; and employed all the skill he was capable of exerting on this part of his subject, without being able to content himself. Art, in his opinion, was more visible than it ought to have been; a mere resemblance would not suffice, and almost nothing but reality itself would satisfy him. He was desirous that the foam should not seem painted, but actually flowing out of the mouth of the dog. He frequently retouched it, and suffered a degree of torture from his anxiety to express those simple traces of nature, of which he had formed the ideas in his mind. All his attempts were however ineffectual, till at last, in a violent emotion of rage and despair, he darted at the picture the sponge with which he used to wipe out his colours, and chance accomplished that which art had not been able to effect.

This painter is censured for being too difficult to be pleased, and for retouching his pictures too frequently. It is certain that, though Apelles* almost regarded him as his master, and allowed him a number of excellent qualities, yet he condemned in him the defect of not being able to quit the pencil and finish his works; a defect highly pernicious in eloquence as well as painting. "We ought," says

esse, non verisimile, vellet. Abstersérat sæpiùs mutaveratque penicillum, nullo modo sibi approbans. Postremò iratus arti quòd intelligeretur, spongiam eam impegit inviso loco tabulæ, et illa reposuit ablatos colores, qualiter cura optabat: fecitque in picturâ fortuna naturam. PLIN. l. xxxv. cap. 10.

* *Et aliam gloriam usurpavit Apelles, cùm Protogenis opus immensi laboris ac curæ supra modum anxiæ miraretur. Dixit enim omnia sibi cum illo paria esse, aut illa meliora, sed uno se præstare, quòd manum ille de tabulâ nesciret tollere: memorabili præcepto, noscere sæpe nimiam diligentiam.* PLIN. ibid.

Cicero,* "to know how far we should go: and "Apelles justly censured some painters for not "knowing when to have done."

SECT. IX. *The expedition of Seleucus into India. Demetrius compels Cassander to raise the siege of Athens. The excessive honours paid him in that city. A league between Ptolemy, Seleucus, Cassander, and Lysimachus, against Antigonus and Demetrius. The battle of Ipsus, a city of Phrygia, wherein Antigonus is slain, and Demetrius put to flight.*

THE farther we advance into the history of Alexander's successors, the more easily may we discover the spirit by which they were constantly actuated hitherto, and by which they will still appear to be influenced. They at first concealed their real dispositions, by nominating children, or persons of weak capacities, to the regal dignity, in order to disguise their own ambitious views. But as soon as all the family of Alexander was destroyed, they threw off the mask, and discovered themselves in their proper colours, and such as, in reality, they had always been. They were all equally solicitous to support themselves in their several governments; to become entirely independent; to assume an absolute sovereignty; and enlarge the limits of their provinces and kingdoms, at the expence of those other governors who were weaker or less successful than themselves. For this purpose they employed the force of their arms, and entered into alliances, which they were always ready to violate when they could derive more advantages from others; and they

* *In omnibus rebus videndum est quatenus——In quo Apelles pictores quoque esse peccare dicebat, qui non sentirent quid esset satis.* Orat. n. 73.

renewed them with the same facility from the same motives. They considered the vast conquests of Alexander as an inheritance destitute of a master, which prudence obliged them to secure for themselves, in as large portions as possible, without any apprehensions of being reproached as usurpers, for the acquisition of countries gained by the victories of the Macedonians, but not the property of any particular person. This was the great motive of all the enterprises in which they engaged.

A. M. 3701. Ant. J. C. 303. Seleucus, as we formerly observed, was master of all the countries between the Euphrates and the Indus, and was desirous of acquiring those that lay beyond the latter of those rivers. In order, therefore, to improve the favourable opportunity which now offered, when he himself was in alliance with Ptolemy, Cassander, and Lysimachus, and when the forces of Antigonus were divided, and Demetrius was employed in the siege of Rhodes, and in awing the republics of Greece; and while Antigonus himself was only intent upon becoming master of Syria and Phœnicia, and attacking Ptolemy even in Egypt itself, he thought it incumbent on him to take advantage of this diversion, which weakened the only enemy he had to fear; for carrying his arms against the people of India, who were included in his lot by the general partition, and whom he hoped it would be very practicable for him to subdue if he made a sudden irruption into that country, when it was altogether unexpected by king Sandrocotta. This person was an Indian of very mean extraction, who, under the specious pretext of delivering his country from the tyranny of foreigners, had raised an army, and augmented it so well by degrees, that he found [illegible] to drive the Macedonians out of all the pro[illegible] India which Alexander had conquered, and to establish himself in them, while the successors of that monarch were engaged in mutual wars with each other. Seleucus passed the Indus in order to regain those provinces;

but when he found that Sandrocotta had rendered himself absolute master of all India, and had likewise an army of six hundred thousand men, with a prodigious number of elephants, he did not judge it prudent to attack so potent a prince; but entered into a treaty with him, by which he agreed to renounce all his pretensions to that country, provided Sandrocotta would furnish him with five hundred elephants; upon which terms a peace was concluded. This was the final result of Alexander's Indian conquests! this the fruit of so much blood shed to gratify the frantic ambition of one prince! Seleucus shortly after led his troops into the West against Antigonus, as I shall soon observe. The absolute necessity he was under of engaging in this war, was one of his strongest inducements for concluding so sudden a peace with the Indian prince.

[n] The Athenians at the same time called in Demetrius to assist them against Cassander, who was besieging their city. He accordingly set sail with three hundred and thirty galleys, and a great body of foot; and not only drove Cassander out of Attica, but pursued him as far as Thermopylæ, where he defeated him, and made himself master of Heraclea, which surrendered voluntarily. He also admitted into his service six thousand Macedonians, who came over to his side.

When he returned to Athens, the inhabitants of that city, though they had already lavished upon him all the honours they were able to invent, had recourse to new flatteries that outdid the former. They lodged him in the back part of the temple of Minerva, called the Parthenon; but even this place, which had such sanctity ascribed to it by the people, and were always the mansion of a virgin goddess, he did not scruple to profane by the most infamous debaucheries. His courtesans were there treated with more honour than the goddess herself, and

[n] Diod. l. [illegible] p. 323. Plut. in Demetr. p. 899.

were the only divinities he adored. [o] He even caused altars to be erected to them by the Athenians, whom he called abject wretches for their mean compliance, and creatures born only for slavery; so much was even this prince shocked at such despicable adulation, as Tacitus observed with respect to Tiberius.*

Democles, surnamed *the Fair*, and of a very tender age, threw himself, in order to elude the violence of Demetrius, into a vessel of boiling water prepared for a bath, and there lost his life, choosing rather to die than violate his modesty. The Athenians, to appease the resentment of Demetrius, who was extremely offended at a decree they had published with relation to him, issued a new one, importing, "That it was ordered and adjudged by the "people of Athens, that whatever Demetrius might "think fit to command, should be considered as "sacred with regard to the gods, and just with re-"gard to men." Is it possible to believe, that flattery and servitude could be carried to such an excess of baseness, extravagance, and irreligion?

Demetrius, after these proceedings, entered Peloponnesus, and took from Ptolemy, who had rendered himself powerful in that country, the cities of Sicyon, Corinth, and several others where he had garrisons. And as he happened to be at Argos, at the grand festival in honour of Juno, he was desirous of celebrating it, by proposing prizes, and presiding in person among the Greeks. In order to solemnize it more effectually, he espoused, on that day, Deidamia, the daughter of Æacides, king of the Molossians, and sister of Pyrrhus.

[p] The states of Greece being assembled in the

[o] Athen. l. vi. p. 253. [p] Plut. in Demetr. p. 900.

* *Memoriæ proditur, Tiberium, quoties curiâ egrederetur, Græcis verbis in hunc modum elogio solutum: O homines ad servitutem paratos! Scilicet etiam [illegible] nollet, tam projectæ servientium [illegible]* TACIT. Annal. l. iii. c. 65.

Isthmus, and curiosity having drawn a vast number of people from all parts, Demetrius was proclaimed general of all the Greeks, as Philip and Alexander had been before him; to whom he thought himself abundantly superior; so much was he intoxicated with the success of his arms, and the extravagant flattery lavished upon him.

When he was about to depart from Peloponnesus for Athens, he wrote to the inhabitants of that city, that he intended, upon his arrival among them, to be initiated in the greater and lesser mysteries at the same time. This had never been permitted before; for it was necessary to observe certain intervals; it being lawful to celebrate the lesser mysteries only in the month of March,* and the greater in that of October. In order, therefore, to obviate this inconvenience, and satisfy so religious a prince, it was ordered, that the then present month of May should be deemed the month of March, and afterwards that of October; and Demetrius, by this rare invention, was duly initiated, without infringing the customs and ceremonials prescribed by the law.

But of all the abuses committed at Athens, that which most afflicted and mortified the inhabitants, was an order issued by Demetrius, for immediately furnishing the sum of two hundred and fifty talents; and when this money had been collected without the least delay or abatement, the prince, the moment he saw it amassed together, ordered it to be given to Lamia, and the other courtesans in her company, for washes and paint. The Athenians were more offended at the indignity than the loss, and resented the application of that sum much more than their contribution of the sum itself.

Lamia, as if this terrible expence had not been sufficient, being desirous to regale Demetrius at a feast, extorted money from several of the richest

* There are various opinions with relation to the months in which these mysteries were celebrated.

Athenians by her own private authority. The entertainment cost immense sums, and gave birth to a very ingenious pleasantry of a comic poet, who said, that Lamia was a true *helepolis*. We have already shown that the helepolis was a machine invented by Demetrius for attacking and taking towns.

A. M. 3702. Ant. J. C. 302. [q] Cassander finding himself vigorously pressed by Demetrius, and not being able to obtain a peace without submitting entirely to the discretion of Antigonus, agreed with Lysimachus to send ambassadors to Seleucus and Ptolemy, to represent to them the situation to which they were reduced. The conduct of Antigonus made it evident that he had no less in view than to dispossess all the other successors of Alexander, and usurp the whole empire to himself; and that it was time to form a strict alliance with each other to humble this exorbitant power. They were likewise offended, and Lysimachus in particular, at the contemptible manner in which Demetrius permitted people to treat the other kings in their conversation at his table, appropriating the regal title to himself and his father; whereas Ptolemy, according to his flatterers, was no more than the captain of a ship, Seleucus a commander of elephants, and Lysimachus a treasurer. A confederacy was therefore formed by these four kings, and Seleucus hastened into Assyria, to make preparations for this new war.

The first operations of it were commenced at the Hellespont; Cassander and Lysimachus having judged it expedient that the former should continue in Europe, to defend it against Demetrius, and that the latter, with as many troops as could be drawn out of their two kingdoms, without leaving them too destitute of forces, should invade the provinces of Antigonus, in Asia. Lysimachus consequently passed the Hellespont with a fine army, and, either

[q] Diod. l. xx. p. 836—838. [illegible] p. 892. Justin. l. xv. c. 4.

by treaty or force, reduced Phrygia, Lydia, Lycaonia, and most of the territories between the Propontis and the river Mæander.

Antigonus was then at Antigonia, which he had lately built in Upper Syria, and where he was employed in celebrating the solemn games he had there established. This news, with that of several other revolts, transmitted to him at the same time, caused him immediately to quit his games. He accordingly dismissed the assembly upon the spot, and made preparations for advancing against the enemy. When all his troops were drawn together, he marched with the utmost expedition over mount Taurus, and entered Cilicia, where he took out of the public treasury of Quinda, a city of that province, as much money as he wanted, and then augmented his troops to the number he thought necessary. After which he advanced directly towards the enemy, and retook several places which had revolted in his march. Lysimachus thought proper to be upon the defensive, till the arrival of the succours which were upon their march to join him from Seleucus and Ptolemy. The remaining part of the year, therefore elapsed without any action, and each party retired into winter-quarters.

Seleucus, at the beginning of the next year, formed his army at Babylon, and marched into Cappadocia, to act against Antigonus. This latter sent immediately for Demetrius, who left Greece with great expedition, marched to Ephesus, and retook that city, with several others that had declared for Lysimachus upon his arrival in Asia. A. M. 3703. Ant. J. C. 301.

Ptolemy improved the opportunity in Syria, of the absence of Antigonus, and recovered all Phœnicia, Judæa, and Cœle-syria, except the cities of Tyre and Sidon, where Antigonus had left good garrisons. He, indeed, formed the siege of Sidon; but whilst his troops were employed in battering the walls, he received intelligence that Antigonus had defeated Seleucus and Lysimachus, and was advancing to

relieve the place. Upon this false report he made a truce for five months with the Sidonians, raised the siege, and returned to Egypt.

Here ends what remains of the history of Diodorus Siculus, in a period of the greatest importance, and on the very point of a battle, by which the fate of Alexander's successors is to be decided.

[y] The confederate army, commanded by Seleucus and Lysimachus, and the troops of Antigonus and Demetrius, arrived in Phrygia almost at the same time, but did not long confront each other without coming to blows. Antigonus had above sixty thousand foot, ten thousand horse, and seventy-five elephants. The enemy's forces consisted of sixty-four thousand foot, ten thousand five hundred horse, four hundred elephants, with a hundred and twenty chariots armed with sithes. The battle was fought near Ipsus, a city of Phrygia.

As soon as the signal was given, Demetrius, at the head of his best cavalry, fell upon Antiochus, the son of Seleucus, and behaved with so much bravery, that he broke the enemy's ranks, and put them to flight; but a rash and inconsiderate thirst of glory, against which generals can never be too much on their guard, and which has been fatal to many, prompted Demetrius to pursue the fugitives with too much ardour, and without any consideration for the rest of the army; by which means he lost the victory he might easily have secured, had he improved his first advantage aright. For when he returned from the pursuit, he found it impracticable for him to rejoin his infantry, the enemy's elephants having filled up all the intermediate space. When Seleucus saw the infantry of Antigonus separated from their cavalry, he did not actually attack them, but only made a feint as if he were going to fall upon them sometimes on one side and sometimes on another, in order to intimidate and afford them sufficient time to quit the

[y] Plut. in Dem.

army of Antigonus, and come over to his own; and this was at last the expedient on which they resolved. The greatest part of the infantry detached themselves from the rest, and surrendered voluntarily to Seleucus, and the other were all put to flight. At the same instant a large body of the army of Seleucus drew off by his order, and made a furious attack upon Antigonus, who sustained their efforts for some time, but being at last overwhelmed with darts, and having received many wounds, he fell dead on the earth, having defended himself valiantly to his last gasp. Demetrius seeing his father dead, rallied all the troops he was able to draw together, and retired to Ephesus with five thousand foot and four thousand horse; which were all that remained of more than seventy thousand men, whom his father and himself commanded at the beginning of the engagement. [h] The great Pyrrhus, young as he then was, was inseparable from Demetrius, overthrew all that opposed him, and gave an essay, in this first action, of what might be expected one day from his valour and bravery.

[h] Plut. in Pyrrh. p. 384.

END OF THE FIFTH VOLUME.

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